

Language Shifting Among the Hodenosaunee of Southern Ontario

Edwaenagé: tsgó – Shogwaya[>] díhs[>] oh nidwawenó:de: shogwá:wi: tsáhohwejáda:t

Let Us All Raise the Song: The Creator This Language He Has Given Us When He

Created the Earth

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Abstract

Through aggressive legislative and educational policies Indigenous languages globally have been shifted to the language of the dominant society. Globalization has brought previously geo-politically and/or geo-linguistically isolated people and language groups into close proximity that necessitated interaction and at times intense power struggles. There are currently approximately 6,000 spoken languages in the world, more than half are either endangered, dying or disappearing altogether. Canadian statistics reveal an overall 3% decline in the intergenerational transmission of language. Of the original 60 Indigenous languages spoken in Canada, 8 are extinct, 13 are nearly extinct, and 23 are critical. The remaining languages have a slim chance of survival. Within the next 100 years only 4 Indigenous languages will remain. The Hodenosaunee languages of Southern Ontario are not included among the list of languages that will survive the next 100 years. There are, without a doubt, complex challenges in the maintenance of Indigenous languages within a dominant-culture influenced environment. Given the increasing awareness of the social impact of linguistic integrity and preservation of languages on Indigenous people as a whole, this study considers how language is currently being used; the social, economic, and political implications of language shifting; the need to shift our social consciousness in order to understand the urgency in privileging our Hodenosaunee languages; as well as ways in which we might achieve those goals as individuals, as families, and as a community.

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Many of our traditional stories include individuals who come alongside us, sometimes for the entire journey, at other times for only a specific period in time; always for a purpose, pouring themselves into our lives, teaching, mentoring, guiding, encouraging, challenging, and inspiring us. The Creator provides these sacred helpers to us. Sometimes they bear our burdens when we are weary or discouraged, at other times they help us see a better way to balance our load. Each of our lives represents a sacred piece of the whole vision. We were not created to carry the burden of that vision alone but to come together to create the whole reality. The lives and work of many talented and beautiful individuals who have worked unceasingly and have given of themselves unconditionally, with great passion, love, and encouragement deserve to be acknowledged and honoured in this work. As my feet rest upon Mother Earth and my face is turned toward Brother Sun, it is with great joy that I give thanks for all that comforts me.

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Netogyé:[>] niyohtó:k_< ogwa[>] nigóha[>]

Let it be this way in our mind

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CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Education (Adadrihonnyén:ni:)

The messengers said to Handsome Lake¹

We feel that the white race will take away the culture, traditions, and language of the red race.

When your people's children become educated in the way of white people, they will no longer speak their own language and will not understand their own culture. Your people will suffer great misery and not be able to understand their Elders anymore.

Your relations will appoint twelve children to be educated by the white race. They will select two children² from each of the Six Nations. We feel that when they become educated, not a single child³ will come back and stand at your side because they will no longer speak your language or have any knowledge of their culture. (Thomas & Boyle, 1994, p. 42)

¹ Three Messengers or Celestial beings came to Sganyadaé:yoh (Handsome Lake), a member of the Seneca Nation, around the end of the 1700's giving him the Gaiwí:yo (Good Message) from Shongwayádihs:on (the Creator) to be passed on to the People. The Gaiwí:yo dealt with the then present as well as future issues. The Gaiwí:yo provided the people with a code of ethics (or moral code) that spoke about ideals and ways of being and conducting oneself that had long been forgotten or set aside as well as those things that would be adopted by the People that would be harmful to them. One such admonition was concerning education.

² "Two children were selected from each tribe to receive the white race's education. The chiefs at that time believed that this education might benefit the native people.

By following the Good Message, the chiefs discovered that the education received from the white race robbed their children of their language and culture. They realized the importance of educating their own children" (Thomas & Boyle, 1994, p. 42).

³ It has been said that the true context in the original language states that only one child will come back to the community (Amos Key Jr., personal communication, May 14, 2008). So we always have the hope that we are that one child – in this way we are still living the moral code of Sganyadaé:yoh (Handsome Lake).

An Epiphany

My heart was pounding as I averted my eyes and tried to avoid being singled out in the class. However, my professor was not to be denied by so obvious a demonstration of my insecurities. I was in the second week of my undergraduate introduction to Cayuga language class. My professor had just breezed into class wearing a fixed smile, probably because he knew that he would be creating a lot of anxiety within the students and he wanted to look encouraging, but the smile only seemed to worsen my fears. He proceeded to tell us that this was the last discussion in English that would occur tonight and that the entire class would be conducted in the Cayuga language. My thoughts were screaming, “No! How can you do this? I am not ready for this. Okay, okay, I can just avoid any eye contact with him and he will ignore me. Creator, help me get through this class without embarrassing myself.”

Deh sta[>].....deh sta[>]. “Oh no he’s looking at me. He wants me to do something. Surely the whole class can hear my heart pounding. Can they see the fear in my eyes?” The sound of the blood pounding in my brain is so loud I can barely hear the words coming out of his mouth. “I don’t know what he wants me to do. Creator help me! Wait, he’s motioning with his hands.” Deh sta[>]. He wants me to stand up, so I comply. Satahí:ne ganhohani:y<o:t. “What am I supposed to do now? I feel so vulnerable standing here. Everyone is looking at me. Satahí:ne ganhohani:y<o:t; Satahí:ne ganhohani:y<o:t. Again he is motioning with his hands, only this time a little impatience has crept into his voice and motions. Satahí:ne ganhohani:y<o:t. “He wants me to walk to the door!” I walk to the door feeling embarrassed, ashamed, vulnerable, and very alone. I stand with my head down staring at the floor thinking that I will run out the

door, run back to what is familiar. “I could leave all this confusion and fear behind and no one would blame me. Maybe I was wrong. Maybe language isn’t that important to education...isn’t it? I could complete my degree without taking any language course...couldn’t I?”

My hand is on the doorknob behind my back. I could make a hasty exit and never look back. Just then time and space converge and a Voice envelops me and is within me saying, “This is just a miniscule example of how my children felt when they were in the residential schools. As an adult you are here by choice and you could also choose to leave. They could not. While you are here in the safety of your community, some of my precious children were taken far from their homes and from everything that was familiar and comforting to them and then forced to exist within an alien, confusing, and at times violent environment. While you could choose not to learn and speak an Indigenous language, they had no choice about the English language forced upon them.” I felt humbled and overwhelmed with emotion and awe. I looked up and I was back in the present time. Sagy<é:, sagy<é:. I went back to my desk and sat down. This began my journey into language.

Context and Background

Through aggressive legislative and educational policies the primacy and centrality of Indigenous languages all over the world have been shifted to the language of the dominant society. Globalization has brought previously geo-politically and/or geo-linguistically isolated people and language groups into close proximity, influence, power struggles and, at times, direct conflict. Globalization has also alerted us to the realities of Indigenous language endangerment and attrition all over the world and is a catalyst for

language revitalization and preservation efforts. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), at the Fifteenth International Congress of Linguists in 1992, was requested to urgently respond to and promote the sponsoring of programming aimed at studying, documenting, and preserving languages all over the world that are either endangered or dying. Professor Stephen A. Wurm, of the Australian National University, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, and President of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (ICPHS) has conducted one such UNESCO-supported meta-analysis.

Wurm's (2001) meta-analysis provides a brief description of the process of language death, a detailed description of the combined efforts of the scientific community and UNESCO, as well as an atlas of threatened languages covering the 5 major geopolitical areas of the globe: Africa, America, Asia, Eurasia, and the Greater Pacific Area. According to Wurm's estimate there are currently approximately 6,000 spoken languages in the world. While languages have been slowly disappearing or dying for thousands of years, the process has accelerated in the last 300 years resulting in a situation where more than half the languages spoken today are either endangered (some very seriously), in the process of dying (moribund), or disappearing altogether (extinction)⁴. Wurm asserts that each and every language is a manifestation of a unique and complex epistemology. Further, the loss of any language, either through attrition or death, "means a contraction, reduction and impoverishment of the sum total of the reservoir of human thought and knowledge" (Wurm, 2001, p. 20). This statement is elucidated in Cajete's (1994) assertion that, "[l]anguage is a reflection of how we organize and perceive the world. In every language there are key words, phrases, and

⁴ For definitions of endangered, moribund, and extinction refer to Appendix A.

metaphors that act as sign posts to the way we think about the world and ourselves” (p. 45).

There is a trend indicating intergenerational transmission is lessening and weakening with each passing generation. The *Aboriginal Peoples Survey 2001* reveals that the number of conversant speakers of an Indigenous language “fell from 20% in 1996 to 16% in 2001...the use of an Aboriginal language at home declined from 8% to 6% [and] the proportion of North American Indian people with an Aboriginal mother tongue fell from 16% to 13%” (Statistics Canada, 2003, p. 28). The 1996-2001 census data showed an overall 3% decline in the intergenerational transmission of language. Kirkness (1998b) reports that, of the original 60 Indigenous languages spoken in Canada, 8 are extinct, 13 are on the verge of extinction, and 23 are critical. The remaining languages have a slim chance of survival. Kirkness projects that within the next 100 years only 4 languages will remain: Cree, Ojibwa, Inuktitut, and Dakota. The Hodenosaunee (Iroquoian) languages spoken by the Hodenosaunee of Southern Ontario are not included in this list.

Hill (2004), in her unpublished paper prepared for inclusion in *The New Agenda: A Manifesto for First Nations' Education in Ontario*, reported that, as of the 1990 assessment, the number of Six Nations of the Grand River Territory (Six Nations) language speakers for each Hodenosaunee language was: (a) Cayuga 360; (b) Mohawk 2,000; (c) Oneida 200; (d) Onondaga 100; (e) Seneca 25 (Canadian assessment only); and (f) Tuscarora 7. Porter (2006) asserts that according to the data the Kanatsiohareke Mohawk Community has collected in 1997 there are less than 30 Hodenosaunee fluent speakers actively involved in passing on traditional knowledge through language. These

fluent speakers are all 70+ years of age. According to Greymorning (1999), “within the next 15 years we will lose up to 85% of the Indigenous languages currently being spoken” (p. 6).

Five of the Six Nations’ Hodenosaunee languages are either seriously endangered or moribund. Mohawk is only slightly better as an endangered language. The status of the Mohawk language is primarily due to the aggressive language preservation and acquisition activities on Six Nations, Akwesasne, and Ganatsiohareke. Even with the current rate of preservation and acquisition activities, Cook-Peters (2005) predicts that the Mohawk language will be extinct by the year 2045.

There are compounded and complex challenges and issues relating to the maintenance of Indigenous languages within an urban environment. Six Nations, located in Southern Ontario, is one of the largest and most urbanized Indigenous territories in Canada. As such, Six Nations is neither geo-linguistically nor geo-politically isolated from the urban environment and dominant societal influences that surround it. Six Nations consists of six individual nations; it has a unique political system that retained its hereditary political confederacy while working through the difficulties surrounding an imposed electoral system of government. Therefore, the capacity for sustainable language reshifting⁵ will, of necessity, be grounded in the inevitable reality of the Hodenosaunee of Southern Ontario’s ongoing relationships and interactions with the dominant society.

⁵ The terms *language shifting/reshifting* are used interchangeably within the scope of this document and refer to the need to shift our own consciousness in order to understand the urgency in privileging our Hodenosaunee languages. I am not suggesting that we no longer use English as a means of cross-cultural communication but that we *privilege* and give *primacy* and *centrality* to our Hodenosaunee languages.

Statement of the Problem

Language has immense cultural identification for a people spiritually, socially, politically, and economically and it is a means by which socialization and knowledge transmission is achieved. Language is viewed as the links of a chain that connects Indigenous people with their ancestral knowledge; it delineates the responsibilities that define the present use of that knowledge in order to be able to envision a politically sustainable and economically viable 7 generational future. It is also the generally held assertion that education is a key vehicle through which that future will be achieved.

Historically, education has contributed to the interruption of the links within that chain, thereby shifting the primary language of exchange from Indigenous languages to that of the dominant politically and economically driven Anglo society. Education is currently being viewed as one of the multiple sites of resistance in the decolonizing process of reshiftng the primary language of instruction from English to the various Indigenous languages.

There is no doubt that Indigenous languages within Canada are endangered, particularly the Hodenosaunee languages, and colonialist policies have served to perpetuate the hegemonic language practices of the dominant culture. To date, many attempts to revitalize the languages within Hodenosaunee communities have been met with resistance at both macro and micro levels of society. What is prevalent throughout the literature is that language loss and attrition have resulted in various forms of genocide (see Appendix A), identity confusion, and numerous well-documented social dysfunctions such as suicide, substance abuse, and family violence.

Language shifting into the language of the dominant culture occurred through the implementation of aggressive educational and legislative policies; therefore, effective language reshifting to the Original languages of the Hodenosaunee people cannot and must not occur through aggressive means. Sustained language reshifting can only be successfully achieved through a change in consciousness in order to become systemically integrated within the community organizations. Attempts at language research and development have been met by various Hodenosaunee communities with either mild neglect, outright resistance, and in some cases open hostility. Unhealthy dysfunctions within communities have contributed to ethnostress and interdiscriminatory actions.

Purpose of this Study

This study will consider the issues that researchers and language educators have determined will need to be addressed in language development, government policies and political agendas. The community voice will be heard as it relates to various socialization issues and their relationship to language reshifting and education. Students will be canvassed as to their personal journeys in language studies and what they consider to be critical issues in language reshifting development. The overarching purpose of this study will be to examine the pedagogical and social reality of language reshifting and how we can address that reality within Hodenosaunee education.

Questions To Be Answered

1. What does it mean to have language?
2. What are the effects of language attrition for the Hodenosaunee people and their communities?

3. What effective strategies are being implemented and how have they impacted individuals, families and communities?
4. What is the connection between language and education for the Hodenosaunee people?
5. What is the pedagogical reality of language reshifting and how can we address that reality in Hodenosaunee education?

It is my hope that this study will help to inform educational practices, research, and social policy with regard to language reshifting. With increasing awareness of the social impact of linguistic integrity and preservation of languages on Indigenous people, it is my goal to assist in the economic and political reshifting of language among the Hodenosaunee people.

Brief Statement of Method

I am proposing a hybrid framework that utilizes focus group sessions and a personal interview for the data collection together with an innovative culturally appropriate research method for the analysis. L.T. Smith (1999) suggests just such a unique and culturally “safe” approach to Indigenous research. Kaupapa Māori research was developed in New Zealand and incorporates community and tribal research as it weaves cultural beliefs, histories, and experiences together. Kaupapa Māori is informed by its relationship to critical theory and notions of identity through resistance, struggle, and liberation in that it is engaged in the act of “exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society” (L.T. Smith, 1999, pp.185-186). Further, Kaupapa Māori is positioned in a local theoretical framework that provides the community with a “voice” in the debate on any issues and ideas connected

with research projects. Indigenous people are no longer objects of research and in this way Indigenous research is transformed. L.T. Smith (1999) addresses the ambiguity, complexities, and contradictions of the emerging struggles in local positioning through “strategic positioning” (p. 186). In this way Kaupapa Māori research is organized, predicted, planned, and contained over a select number of sites.

Using the preceding concepts, I also propose to situate my research within an emerging research framework based upon Hodenosaunee traditional cultural beliefs, histories, and experiences. This emerging framework will strategically locate this study within the Hodenosaunee community thus ensuring that primacy, centrality, and power over the research are connected to community and Nation.

Limitations

The limitations to this study are in the data collection procedures that rely heavily on equipment which can possibly malfunction and/or fail to capture nuances contained within the discussion, which is why I included two simultaneous audiotaping mechanisms. This process is both time-consuming and expensive; resources did not allow for an outside transcriber and analyst to be hired. The principal researcher transcribed and analyzed the data and that time was built into this study. Further, the participants could have misinterpreted the questions or I may not have obtained the information I was looking to gain from the study. As a qualitative researcher, I interpreted the data subjectively. In order to account for these limitations, I:

- triangulated my data sources;
- provided the opportunity for member checking (i.e., I provided the opportunity for participants to review their transcripts to ensure authenticity);

- provided the opportunity for randomly selected participants to review the interpreted and coded data to further ensure authenticity.

Definition of Key Terms

The terms Iroquoian and Hodenosaunee are used interchangeably. The terms Indigenous, First Nations, Native, and/or Aboriginal people refer to all Indigenous people of Canada (Onkewhonwe, Métis, and Inuit). The term Indigenous can also be construed to mean Indigenous people in a global context where so noted. In instances where cited authors use specific terms, I have, for the sake of accuracy and congruency, used the same terminology. The term Elder has been capitalized throughout this study in order to demonstrate respect for the individual who is designated as an Elder among Indigenous people rather than in reference to an individual of advanced age. Please refer to the Glossary of Terms (Appendix A) for a comprehensive list of key terms and definitions utilized within the scope of this study.

Outline of the Remainder of the Document

Chapter 2 provides a socio-thematic and socio-contextual examination of the multilayered, dynamic, interrelated and interconnected themes and subthemes regarding the maintenance and renewal of Indigenous languages. The overarching emergences that I have noted are socio and ethno linguistics, political and economic determinants of language use, attrition versus loss, and education. Chapter 3 explores the hybrid methodologies used in this qualitative study that engages the various storied voices within a culturally appropriate methodological framework. Chapter 4 presents a detailed description, understanding and analysis of the findings, and process of the central phenomenon related to language reshifting. Chapter 5 is a proposed process of

implementing effective language reshifting strategies within an urbanized Indigenous territory environment that simultaneously provides primacy, privilege, and centrality to Indigenous languages with the use and maintenance of English in the subordinate position as a mode of cross-communication.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Our native language embodies a value system about how we ought to live and relate to one another...It gives a name to relations among kin, to roles and responsibilities among family members, to ties with broader clan group. There are no English words for these relationships....Now, if you destroy our languages, you not only break down these relationships, but you also destroy other aspects of our Indian way of life and culture, especially those that describe man's connection with nature, the Great Spirit, and the order of things. *Without our languages, we will cease to exist as a separate people* [emphasis added]. (Taylor, 1993, as cited in Hébert, 2000, p. 63)

This literature review examines the multilayered, dynamic, interrelated, and interconnected themes and subthemes regarding maintaining and renewing Indigenous languages through the understanding of such concepts as language attrition, attitudes, planning, political and economic value of language regulation, inter and intra ethnic identification, socio-cultural adaptation, decolonization, spirituality, centrality, resistance, and methodological approaches to language reshifting. There is a growing assemblage of published literature and research in the general area of Indigenous language in Canada. Most of the current literature and research appears to focus mainly on western and northern Canada, the United States, Australia, Hawaii, and New Zealand; while I am aware of the work being done in Southern Ontario among the Hodenosaunee, there is little published material on those initiatives. Therefore, this literature review provides a foundation for my research on how to enhance the capacity for sustainable language reshifting among the Hodenosaunee of Southern Ontario.

For ease of clarity and organization the literature in this review is organized socio-thematically and socio-contextually. Socio-thematic refers to various social topics or subjects, and socio-context is related to the environment, background, and/or circumstances of a particular socio-theme. The overarching socio-themes that emerged from this literature review are as follows: Socio- and ethno-linguistics, political and economic determinants of language use, attrition versus loss, and education.

Socio- and Ethno-linguistics

For the purposes of this literature review socio-linguistics refers to the study of societal functions of a language, and ethno-linguistics refers to the study of language as a source cultural identification.

According to Fishman (1991, 1996, 2001) and Yeoman (2000) there are two ways to consider language (a) strictly as a method of communication; and/or (b) as a method of identification, a sense of belonging to a particular social group, as well as a spiritual connection to a culture-sharing group's higher power, their ancestors, and even creation itself. First Nations Elders frequently say that language must not simply be learned with the head, meaning solely with the intellect, but must be spoken from the heart. Battiste (1998) indicates that we must "seek the soul in the language" (p. 25). If we choose to learn a language solely from an intellectual position then we have no sincere investment in the value of that language and we relegate its use to one of convenience. Should a particular language no longer serve our purposes we can, without undue duress, choose another method of communication.

Reyhner (1995) articulated that, "many non-Indians and some Indians see no tragedy in the loss of their languages" (p. 279). However, Fishman (1991) argues that, in

fact, “language issues in society *are* [emphasis added] fraught with emotions, values, ideals and loyalties” (pp. 10-11). Language is not confined to the use of verbage and used solely as a sterile means of communication but rather is pregnant with meaning and intent. Language defines a culture-sharing group, its cultural values, beliefs, mores and further, language and culture are inseparable and interconnected components of each other. There is a great deal of agreement that language and culture each define, express, codify, and mirror the other (Battiste, 1998; Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2002; Cajete, 1994; Edwards, 2005; Fishman, 1991, 2001; N. González, 2001; Greymorning, 1999, 2000; Keeshig-Tobias, 2003; Kirkness, 1998b, 1998c; Kouritzin, 1999; Leavitt, 1995; Littlebear, 1999; Loomba, 2005; McAlpine & Herodier, 1994; Norris, 1998a, 1998b; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [RCAP], 1996c, 1996d; Sachdev, 1998; Taylor & Wright, 1989; Wurm, 2001; Young, 2003).

Taylor and Wright (1989) assert that the substance of language is not simply a method for communication as “no other factor is as powerful as language in maintaining by *itself* the genuine and lasting distinctiveness of an ethnic group” (p. 87). Further, each time a person chooses to speak in a particular language he or she is communicating more than just the surface words; embedded between the words is the code for all of the information about who the individual is, where she/he belongs, and the degree of respect he/she may or may not have for the dialogue, and thus, no communication is free of intent, or is completely innocent (Battiste, 1998; Cajete, 1994; Loomba, 2005; & Taylor & Wright, 1989). According to the *Aboriginal Peoples Survey 2001*, “[l]anguage is often recognized as the essence of a culture...[and] is not only a means of communication, but a link which connects people with their past and grounds their social, emotional and

spiritual vitality” (Statistics Canada, 2003, p. 28). The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures (TFALC), through extensive consultations with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities, stated that “[l]anguages are...more than just ordered systems of words. Culture animates language” (p. 58).

Noted authors Battiste (1998), Bishop, Berryman, and Richardson (2002), Cajete (1994), N. González (2001), Hébert (2000), Norris (1998a, 1998b), Task Force (2005), and Wurm (2001) agree that language contains all of the collective and ancestral knowledge, ceremonies, and concepts of reality, as well as sense- and meaning-making of a particular language group. Collective linguistic identity is intimate and empowering: “I am my language” (N. González, 2001, p. xix). This intimacy is expressed through the spirituality of language. Keeshig-Tobias (2003) expressed this intimacy when, out of the lament of her spirit, she cried, “I have been touched by the land, I have been kissed, scolded, tested, teased, and inspired. I have sat on the land and *called* for a vision [emphasis added]” (p. 98).

According to Kim, Lujan, and Dixon (1998) “ethnic identity has been seen as the person’s ‘basic identity’ formed during the earliest periods of socialization” (p. 120) which centres on the communication activities of an individual within a particular social environment. Cajete (1994) asserts that language is a reflection of how a culture-sharing group organizes and perceives its world and thus, its reality; all of the stories, metaphors, phrases, and words are like signposts that provide indicators as to how a culture-sharing group thinks. Further, it is not only how that culture-sharing group thinks about its own world and its own members, but I would dare say, how it sees and perceives others as well. N. González’s (2001) study on language among Mexican-origin children does not

confine language usage solely to social identity but is also encapsulated in political and economic issues.

Alessandro Duranti (1997) in his book entitled *Linguistic Anthropology* proposes that to have a language is to be connected to traditions, a shared history, and “a collective memory, full of stories, innuendoes, opinions, recipes, and other things that make us human” (p. 334) and that those “memories are inscribed in linguistic accounts, stories, anecdotes, and names” (p. 337). Also that we are in a language as much as it is in us and in that way language also becomes a way for us to create our reality: language “provide[s] us with ways of being in the world” (p. 337). Language allows us to make sense of our reality and allows us to reflexively connect with that reality in order to ask ourselves and to seek answers to questions of identification such as: Who am I? Where do I come from? Where am I going? Why am I here? If you change those questions to *we* you change the scope of those questions from personal to societal.

Political and Economic Determinants

Bielenberg (1999), Fettes and Norton (2000), F. E. González (2001), Kirkness (1998a, 1998b, and 1998c), Loomba (2005), Maurais (2003), Samuels II (2003), Taylor & Wright (1989), Titley (1986), Tonkin (2003), and Young (2003) assert that the study of language is also the study of the power structures within a society. F. E. González (2001) in describing her research stated that she “learned about the power of language” (p. 648) and that the study of language was about “weaving together personal and public worlds. This worldview envisions possibilities and strategies to create connections across experiences, as well as negotiating differential interests, resources, and power relations” (p. 651).

Bielenberg (1999) argues that language and subsequently literacy are value laden constructs and that both the dominant society and traditional Indigenous language speakers have the same goals but are approaching the subject with opposing policies. However, we must also consider Loomba's (2005) argument that it is the power structures within a society that determine policies, which are developed to both receive and ensure the continued support those dominant power systems. Those same policies also work to ensure the marginalized voice is silenced, ineffective, and powerless. According to the RCAP (1996b) "Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, operating from different cultural perspectives...often do not appear to be speaking the same language when they sit around the negotiating table to discuss self-government and constitutional issues" (p. 7).

Authors such as Fettes and Norton (2000), Grin and Vaillancourt (1998), Kirkness (1998b), Samuels II (2003), L.T. Smith (1999), the TFALC (2005), Taylor and Wright (1989), and Young (2003) support the argument that policy and legislation amendments as well as obtaining federal "official" language status are the keys to social attitudinal changes and status elevation concerning Indigenous language issues. It is the authors' belief that because Indigenous languages were historically shifted through legislative measures, these same languages will be reshifted and validated through legislation in the present time. Further, Kirkness (1998b) argues that there are several precedents for legislative measures such as the Māori of New Zealand, Nunavut in the Northwest Territories, and British Columbia's First People's Heritage, Language and Culture Act. Kirkness (1998b) asserts that legislation ensures "access to the knowledge, strategies and resources necessary to rebuild and revive our languages" (p. 104). The Grin and

Vaillancourt study asserts that language policy provides the framework for the legitimization of position and privilege to a language.

The RCAP (1996d) report argues that legislation alone “can do little more than sanction a reality....[a]ssigning a language official status will not guarantee intergenerational transmission” (p. 7) which, according to Cook-Peters (2005), Fettes and Norton (2000), Fishman (1991, 1996, 2000, 2001), Greymorning (1999), Hébert (2000), Kirkness (1998a, 1998b), Littlebear (1999), Norris (1998a, 1998b), RCAP (1996d), Reyhner (1995, 1999), and Wurm (2001) are the critical indicators of the vitality of any language.

Grin and Vaillancourt (1998), in a landmark report commissioned by the Te Taura Whiri, Te Puni Kokiri, and the Ministry of Education in New Zealand, entitled *Language Revitalisation Policy: An Analytical Survey*, clearly state that their approach to language shifting is grounded in an economic theoretical framework where language policy is formed through public policy. This study was commissioned by the New Zealand Treasury Department in order to inform the development of micro and macro economic policy and to gain an understanding of the impact of policy proposals or the syntheses of literature on economic development. Grin and Vaillancourt note that available documentation relating to robust language shifting was deficient and they thus utilize Joshua Fishman’s model for language revitalization as their socio-linguistic framework. Grin and Vaillancourt developed what I consider to be a unique socio-economic/mathematical framework for Māori language shifting. While they acknowledge that educational and media institutions are key components in language revitalization, nothing can replace the influence of home, family, and community as key

players in any revitalization strategy in order for a language to become a societal norm. This empirical study is framed in a mixed-methods design in that it utilizes a solid and equitable combination of both quantitative and qualitative data. Included as an appendix to the study is the mathematical model used in the data analysis as well as the results and subsequent computation of the cause-and-effect relationship between policy and language shifting. Grin and Vaillancourt found that language revitalization/bilingualism contains several market and non-market benefits that can be quantified and expressed in economic terms. Grin and Vaillancourt argue that, in order to compete in today's global economic marketplace, the concept of linguistic interaction must have an economic base; otherwise, it will only be viewed as a "hobby" rather than a necessity. Grin and Vaillancourt's study incorporates a mixed methods design that provides sufficient quantitative data analysis to satisfy quantitative analysts while also providing the type of rich qualitative rhetorical detail to convince the social theorists that language shifts are not only possible but are also socially, politically, and economically viable.

As Coulmas (1992) observes, "[l]anguage is not a value, but it has value" (p. 55). Coulmas argues that languages behave like economic systems that, while difficult to quantify, have specific value in societal interactions. Language as a means of exchange finds its value in how it is symbolically validated, trusted, and reaffirmed with that society. According to Coulmas a particular language can be viewed either as an asset or a liability. If a language is viewed as an asset then it is considered privileged and centrally positioned. If a language is viewed as a liability, either by the dominant society or by the group to whom the language belongs, then the language and the people who

speak that language become marginalized; and eventually disinterested or even resistant to language issues.

As noted in both the Sachdev (1998) and Young (2003) studies, the question currently being posed by a majority of the youth and non-speakers in various Indigenous communities asks why valuable and scarce resources should be utilized to save Indigenous languages when they appear to have neither economic, political, or global significance or benefits. Conversely, Cajete (1994) tells us that Elders are consistently reminding youth that “these stories, this language, these ways, and this land are the only valuables we can give you” (p. 41). Sachdev (1998) inquires whether these generational differences in attitude toward language could be attributed to Elders having learned the language informally through social interaction, as opposed to the youth who are currently attempting to learn it formally through the educational system. This could create an environment that fosters a generational division of mismatched values and beliefs concerning language as well as serving to re-entrench attitudes of resistance toward education and language initiatives.

Attrition Versus Loss

As stated previously, Battiste (1998), Cook-Peters (2005), Fishman (1991, 1996, 2000, 2001), Greymorning (1999), Kirkness (1998a, 1998b), Littlebear (1999), Norris (1998a, 1998b), RCAP (1996d), Reyhner (1995, 1999), TFALC (2005), and Wurm (2001) stipulate that intergenerational transmission of a language is crucial to language viability and sustainability. Fishman (1991) clearly states that, “the road to societal death is paved by language activity that is not focused on intergenerational continuity” (p. 91). Language status indicators provide us with a description of the position of language

within society in relation to other languages. According to Grin and Vaillancourt (1998), these status indicators include:

1. Supply-side factors of linguistic environment, which incorporates the visibility and availability of a language;
2. Competence level of speakers, which refers to the capacity of using a particular language;
3. Number of speakers which is the main goal of acquisition planning; and
4. Language attitudes, which are one of the main links between language policy and language behaviour. Changing attitudes is the main goal of language promotion. (pp. 41-42)

Kouritzin (1999) provides us with clear linguistical definitions for the terms language loss, shift, attrition, and death:

1. Language loss refers to lack of proficiency as well as incomplete or imperfect learning of a language spoken in childhood;
2. Language shift refers to the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another;
3. Language attrition refers to the loss of any language or any portion of a language by an individual or a speech community whether because of aphasia, aging, or for any social, catastrophic, or political reason;
4. Language death exclusively refers to those minority languages that are no longer used as the languages of schooling, bureaucracy, or government, lose their primary language function, and thus lose their viability. (pp. 12-13)

Further, Kouritzin asserts that “attrition does not take place within an individual but between individuals and therefore it appears smooth and painless, a seamless tapestry of changing colors” (p. 14). Sider (2000) examined the language attrition of adults who as children grew up in India, and concluded that there are 3 stages of attrition: “(1) Takes longer than normal to retrieve linguistic information; (2) Information is temporarily inaccessible; and (3) Information is permanently and completely inaccessible” (p. 12). Sider asserts that the term “loss” is a misnomer since a “language is never really lost, it is just not accessible” (p. 12); language attrition is not permanent as a language can be retrieved or recalled through sensory contextual memory and/or a strongly motivated desire to learn. However, this notion of loss and retrieval does not address the issues of attrition for those individuals who have never been exposed to the original language of their culture-sharing group.

Fishman (1996) and Reyhner (1996, 1999) discuss Fishman’s eight stages of language loss with suggested interventions that target each specific stage (Stage 1 indicates high usage among all levels of government and educational structures and Stage eight indicates the virtual extinction of the language). It appears that the Hodenosaunee languages are somewhere around Stage 6, indicating that there is some level of intergenerational transmission and usage of the language but that our speakers are all beyond childbearing age. The Elders have little or no teaching training and are transmitting their knowledge to the grandchildren in a leapfrogging fashion, having bypassed their children.

Berry (1999), a consultant in a study commissioned by RCAP and supervised by Marlene Brant Castellano, summarizes the method in his article entitled “Aboriginal

Cultural Identity”. Kim Hathaway, the principal researcher in the study, also served as group facilitator during the data collection sessions. In the Berry (1999) study, 116 individuals participated in a 2-day, self-reporting learning circle (focus group) study. These individuals, all of Aboriginal descent, were randomly selected from on- and off-reserve geographical spaces encompassing north, east, and west, as well as for their status and gender diversity. The circle was videotaped and 15 different activities were used as a framework to include discussions in all aspects of cultural identity. Berry (1999) found that “for language use, in the total adult populations 64% of Indians on-reserve, 23.1% off-reserve, and 17.5% of Métis claimed that they were able to use their Aboriginal language; 74.6% of Inuit were able to do so” (p.12). For children the results are similar but at lower levels: “44.3%, 9.0%, 4.9% and 67.0% respectively” (Berry, 1999, p.12). It is interesting to note that the Inuit and on-reserve statistics are significantly higher than for those who reside in urban areas or are of Métis origin (Berry, 1999, p. 12). It would be interesting to consider whether the isolation of certain communities from western influences contributes to these higher figures. The majority of participants in this study expressed the importance of returning to traditional values that include strong language proficiency.

Those individuals who had lost their language also expressed a lost connection to their culture, identification, and sense of belonging (Berry, 1999). Berry (1999) and Kouritizin (1999) agree that the loss of a language also means the loss of relating through traditional activities such as ceremonies, storytelling, creation stories, social activities, feasting, music, and dance. There appears to be a strong association between language loss, loss of identity, and subsequent social dysfunction. Language “is my [our]

landscape in life” (Kouritzin, 1999, p. 71). It is the geographical space that grounds us and from which we can situate ourselves against everything else. It is our reference point; it is how we find our way home.

Fishman (1996) asserts that attitudes toward language loss depend largely on the insider versus outsider perspective. The outsider perspective perceives the language itself to be grounded and fixed in a specific reality of time and space. The insider perceives language from the sanctity of the sacred expressed in morality and kinship responsibilities. Fishman (1996, 1991) and Reyhner (1995) clearly articulate that any strategic action focused on language shifting must elicit the cooperation of the entire language community and that it must also become systemically integrated within the community organizations. “[I]t takes a village to raise a child, it will also take a village to raise our language level” (Cook-Peters, 2005, p. 2).

According to Fishman (2000) and Rubin and Jernudd (1975), language planning must be deliberate, creative, solution driven, future oriented, and contextual. Language planning strategies must consider the political, economic, demographic and psychological variables within each community (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998; Rubin & Jernudd, 1975). These measures, according to Fishman (2000), can either be permissive which are merely symbolic gestures at best, active in that the danger is recognized and steps are implemented, or proactive or preventative requiring constant assessment and evaluation. The measure or measures chosen will depend upon where the community itself positions its language and, according to Hill (2004), McAlpine and Herodier (1994), the RCAP (1996e), and G.H. Smith (2000), the educational system is the mechanism by which

Indigenous people can “retain their languages and....maintain their cultures” (Hill, 2004, p. 5).

Education

Historically, the school system “adopted a policy of assimilation” (RCAP, 1996c, p. 1) and has been “the laboratory and production line of the colonial system” (RCAP, 1996c, p. 2). It was argued that First languages “could not carry the burden of civilization” (RCAP, 1996c, p. 8) and further, “misinformation ensure[d] that the public could see the schools but not see *into* them” (RCAP, 1996c, p. 6). Speaking a First language became a symbol of evil and the speaker, regardless of age, gender or circumstance, became the receptacle for severe and cruel punishments (RCAP, 1996c; Haig-Brown, 1998).

While in most cases children are no longer subjected to the terror of physical abuse, they are still subjected to psychological colonialist bullying. In contemporary society, Adams (1989), Littlebear (1999), and the RCAP (1996a) purport that Indigenous children continue to be surrounded and infested with colonial discourses, history, stories, curriculum, media, and stereotypical representation: “Those in power command the present and shape the future by controlling the past” (Adams, 1989, p. 43). As McAlpine and Herodier (1994) point out, “[s]chools in Aboriginal communities [are] largely created by mainstream policy makers and have tended to reflect mainstream cultural values supporting the dominant social order” (p. 129). While there have been great strides in Indigenous teacher representation in on-reserve schools, there remains a vacuum regarding Indigenous teacher representation in the provincial school system (RCAP,

1996a), especially in Ontario. Interestingly and sadly, not much has changed in the 12 years since the RCAP reports.

In spite of a traumatic legacy, education remains a “prominent choice of Aboriginal people pursuing *graduate* [emphasis added] studies” (RCAP, 1996a, p. 2). This statement implies a diversity of undergraduate degrees. Linking this diversity to the education process demonstrates that Indigenous graduates are connecting their own varying educational experiences with the educational needs of their communities (RCAP, 1996e). It is unfortunate that one of the many residual effects of this traumatic educational history, is that individuals, who upon graduation from post-secondary education, choose to return to serve their communities are subsequently viewed with suspicion and treated with resistance, and/or rejection (Keeshig-Tobias, 2003; Littlebear, 1999).

Demas and Saavedra (2004), Ermine (2005), Pihana, Cram, and Walker (2002), and Reyhner (1999) discuss transforming the educational landscape into ethical and methodological space for mutual dialogue and meaning-making both within and between communities and culture groups. This transformation will entail “a new order of relations” (Ermine, 2005, p. 4) where “previously oppressed or silenced voices enter the discourse” (p. 3). Can this transformed space exist in a fluently and equally bilingual landscape?

According to Demas and Saavedra (2004) bilingual education is “the spoiled child of critical theory” (p. 220) that “represents a monolingual, Eurocentric, middle-class understanding of what it means to engage in the act of learning and living multiple language, multiple worlds” (p. 221). Demas and Saavedra argue that the minority-

language child will always be viewed deficiently by the patriarchal dominant educational system.

Conversely, Fishman (1991) argues that, “bilingualism is the bridge” (p. 85) and that anyone interested in reversing language shifting will have no alternative but to consider bilingualism. McApline and Herodier (1994) state that, “most speakers of the Aboriginal language are bilingual” (p. 129). Reyhner (1999) argues that those students and speakers who are not bilingual are caught between two cultures without a solid grounding in either one and they thus experience alienation and loss since they cannot create solid connections in either culture.

Leavitt (1995) conducted a study with educators comprising two summer courses in 1987 and 1988 that examined the cultural implications of equally teaching English and Indigenous languages within the classroom. Each of the educators reported that educators: (a) need to learn about the language and culture of every child in their respective classes; (b) need to become aware of their responsibilities to consider the development of every child in respect of their Indigenous culture; and (c) need to be cognizant of the power they have in shaping a child’s identity and that with such power comes an awesome responsibility. Finally the participants concluded that, through the use of “bi-cultural curriculum” (p. 134), the transition between both worlds could be accomplished seamlessly.

Alternatively, there are individuals who strongly assert that the only successful method for successful language reshifting is to singularly immerse individuals in his or her first language in a protected linguistic environment (Bielenberg, 1999; Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2002; Cook-Peters, 2005; Demas & Saavedra, 2004; Edwards,

2005; Hill, 2004; Metz, 2003; L.T. Smith, 1999; & Taylor & Wright, 1989). The RCAP (1996d) suggests that, while geo-linguistic strongholds can no longer protect and isolate Indigenous languages from the dominant societal influences, language nests synthesize a protected geo-linguistic environment. L.T. Smith (1999) and G.H. Smith (2000) report that language nest programs are based on Indigenous theory and practices of transformation that serve to privilege Indigenous thought, knowledge, culture, language, and values that begin in preschool and continue on through primary, secondary and postsecondary education.

The RCAP (1996d) and the TFALC (2005) state that the Hudenosaunee of Southern Ontario are actively engaged in immersion programs that although assisting in second language acquisition, have little effect in triggering intergenerational transmission. Unless the language can be reinforced through familial and kinship ties it will not make the necessary transition from second to first language, and the need for ongoing interventive immersion programming will become fixed in the community psyche. The TFALC report, however, indicates that the Mohawk language immersion programs attests to a 90% retention rate and that overall student achievement and graduation rates are higher than for those Indigenous students who did not attend language immersion programs.

Hill (2004) advises that there are three types of language instruction currently being offered on Six Nations:

1. Native as a second language – this program is not intended to create fully bilingual students;

2. Total immersion – this program is intended to completely immerse the student in a Native language. I. L. Thomas offers Cayuga immersion from grades 1 through 8. Kawennio offers Mohawk immersion for grades 1 through to secondary school. Each program on Six Nations follows Ontario Ministry of Education curriculum however, instruction is given in the language. Students are encouraged to continue usage of the language outside classroom activities, which assists in building sustainability in the language learning process;
3. 50/50 form of instruction – this was developed at Six Nations due to parents' concerns over academic literacy performance. The curriculum is delivered in an even 50/50 split between English and the First language. This instruction option is only offered at I. L. Thomas for grades 1 through 8 (pp. 9-11).

Hill also notes that “[t]here are [currently] no First Nations Language Immersion programs available to off-reserve peoples in the provincial setting” (p. 9).

According to Metz (2003), English is considered the secondary language in the Akwesasne Freedom School located in Akwesasne Mohawk Territory. This program begins in preschool and continues through to grade 8: “Mohawk is the only language allowed except for during the final two years, during a crash catch-up in English” (p. 1) in order to prepare the students for the mainstream public school system. These students experience a high success rate in the mainstream school system. Four out of the five students from the Freedom school were inducted into the National Honour Society. Margaret Cook-Peters, a program developer at the Akwesasne Board of Education states that, “every single book, every single resource material we have had to make for ourselves” (p. 2). These students see themselves represented and validated in every

aspect of the school from the murals decorating the walls to the recitation of the Mohawk creation story.

Tom Porter, owner and developer of the Kanatsiohareke Mohawk Community, created a summer Mohawk language immersion program for students ranging from 6 to 60 years of age. The success of the initial session in 1998 far exceeded anyone's expectations and every summer a new session and cohort are initiated. Home practice materials ensure that students continue learning after the program has ended, thus ensuring sustainable language acquisition.

The above-noted initiatives demonstrate what well-esteemed authors and researchers such as Bielenberg (1999), Bishop, Berryman, and Richardson (2002), Cook-Peters (2005), Edwards (2005), Hill (2004), Metz (2003), L.T. Smith (1999), and Taylor and Wright (1989) all assert: that it is simply not an effective strategy to merely translate existing curriculum into an Indigenous language; curriculum and teaching resources need to be developed using Indigenous epistemological pedagogy. Friedel (1999), Kirkness (1998c), L.T. Smith (1999), and G.H. Smith (2000) state that the active and positive involvement of parents and community members into curriculum development as well as their respective positive and proactive involvement in the educational administrative system are crucial to greater student academic achievement levels, and to the transformation of entire communities.

Summary

The studies on socio and ethno linguistics noted in this literature review utilized various ethnographic and mixed-method research designs. These studies primarily focused on western and northern Canada, the United States, Hawaii, and the Māori of

New Zealand. There has been little documented research on language reshifting among the Hadenosaunee of Southern Ontario, and more particularly, among the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory.

Threaded throughout the literature was the prevailing statement that language was more than simply a mode of communication. If such statement were true then any language would suffice and issues of language would not be so fraught with emotion, values, ideals, and intense loyalties. However, in the face of cultural and linguistic genocide, language discourses are, in fact, highly charged with strong emotions, complex, multifaceted, and heterogeneous as well as economically and politically motivated. Six Nations has a long historical record of alliances and Treaty agreements with the Canadian Government. One such treaty, the Silver Covenant Chain, was grounded in an alliance based on equality that symbolized mutual peace, friendship, equality, self-determination, and respect. It is from this perspective that I seek to examine language reshifting within Six Nations.

This research study is endeavouring to comprehend Six Nations' unique position and connection to the dominant society with which it has significant economic and political interactions; together with the local residential school, the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, an historical monument that remains a "living" testament to the historical educational trauma experienced by a great many Six Nations residents. This work looks to shed some light on the complexity and multi-faceted discourses on language issues, education, self-determination, and overall community wellness. If "language is the measure of our lives" (Duranti, 1997, p. 7) then I am looking to focus on how language use and attitudes affect identity formation in individuals and groups. As well, I anticipate

an emerging process for language reshifting among the Hodenosaunee people of
Southern Ontario

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD AND PROCEDURES

Language is our unique relationship to the Creator, our attitudes, beliefs, values, and fundamental notions of what is truth. Our languages are the cornerstones of who we are as a people. Without our languages our cultures cannot survive. As they belong to the original peoples of this country, First Nations languages must be protected and promoted as a fundamental element of Canadian heritage. The right to use our Aboriginal languages, and the right to educate our children in our languages, is an inherent Aboriginal and treaty right. The federal government has a legal obligation through various treaties, and through legislation, to provide adequate resources that will enable us to exercise this right. Language is a community resource to be planned and developed at the community level. Elders are the cornerstone of traditional education, and therefore must be accorded proper and fitting consideration for their expertise. All languages are to be accorded equal dignity and respect (Assembly of First Nations [AFN], 1988, as cited in Fettes & Norton, 2000, p. 29).

This study considers the issues that researchers and language educators believe need to be addressed in language development, government policies, and political agendas. The community voice was heard as to the socialization issues and their relationship to language reshifting and education. Students were canvassed as to their personal journeys in language studies and what issues they see as critical in language reshifting development. Through this research I anticipate an emergent process for language reshifting among the Hodenosaunee people of Southern Ontario.

Research Method and Design

I utilized a hybrid combination of an emerging design in grounded theory together with a culturally aligned research method in order to discover the connections between language and education, the implications of language attrition, and subsequent reshifting for the Hodenosaunee people. An emerging design in grounded theory is flexible, is conceptually abstract, and focuses on the emerging theory rather than simply describing categories. According to Creswell (2005), an emerging design in grounded theory is, by definition, a process, that can be adapted to the cultural sensitivity of individuals, can easily represent complex realities, while describing action and interaction between and among individuals.

There are various culturally defined and sensitive metaphors for engaging community centered research, such as: The Kaupapa Māori power sharing models (Bishop, 1996; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; L.T. Smith, 1999); the Anishnabe Medicine Wheel (Hodson, 2004; Kompf & Hodson, 2000); the Anishnabe Seven Grandfathers Teachings (Toulouse, n.d.); and the Mayan Tree of Life (Jiménez Estrada, 2005).

The Hodenosaunee people from Six Nations of the Grand River community come from a unique and historic perspective and their cumulative experience has created a spiritual tradition that is expressed through the various ceremonies, one of which is the Condolence ceremony. The Condolence is a sacred ceremony arising out of the tumultuous era of the Peacemaker. Through His efforts the five desperate and decimated Nations emerged under a common unified vision as the Five Nations Confederacy. John Mohawk (1989) writes:

The Peacemaker laid forth a promise of a hopeful future, a future in which there would be no wars, a future in which human beings would gather together to use their minds to create peace. He raised the idea of rational thinking to the status of a political principle. He promoted clear thinking as the highest human potential and He preached it in the spiritual language of his contemporaries. The Forces of Life, He was saying, have given the human being the potential to use the Mind to create a better life through peace, power, and righteousness. (p. 220)

According to Hodson (2007) “the ritual of Condolence is grounded in the human experience of loss and heartache, and looks to restore balance in the human condition after a significant loss” (p. 11). Further, the Condolence ceremony demonstrates faith in “the fundamental human capacity for rational thought that makes all things possible – creating new and hopeful realities, new relationships that are respectful to the needs of all” (p. 12). Kahnawake scholar Taiaiake Alfred (1999) believes that:

The Condolence ritual pacifies the minds and emboldens the hearts of mourners by transforming loss into strength. In Rotinohshonni [Hodenosaunee] culture, it is the essential means of recovering the wisdom seemingly lost....It is a gift promising comfort, recovery of balance, and revival of spirit to those who are suffering....By strengthening family ties, sharing knowledge, and celebrating the power of traditional teachings, the Condolence ritual heals. (p. xii)

The origins of this ceremony come from deeply sacred and spiritual traditions, and as such, I am deeply aware of my responsibility to conduct this research in a respectful and culturally sensitive manner.

Hodenosaunee Research Method

The Hodenosaunee Research Method (HRM) engaged in this study (see Appendix B) is a holistic research method that removes artificial barriers by drawing on the values and philosophy of the Condolence ceremony as a model for engaging the Six Nations community in action research in ways that are culturally appropriate and culturally sensitive. This method begins when each group of individuals (in this context it is the participants collectively as one group and the researcher[s] as another) comes together to engage in dialogue and delineate the phenomenon from their unique perspective. The participants and researcher(s) welcome one another in a reciprocal demonstration of respect. The participants (including the researcher[s]) eat and engage in dialogue together in a venue that is warm, inviting, intimate and close to the land. Through the various storied voices each participant has an opportunity to recognize and rejoice in each other's trials, triumphs and tears. The participants have opportunities to connect what is being endured in the current reality with their respective individual and communal responsibilities. HRM serves to rekindle the common fire around which the various groups will dialogue. This method is designed to be reflective and engaging rather than gruelling. At this point participants are invited to go beyond the boundaries of their own individual experiences in order to create a collective vision of understanding. It is through that collective understanding that strategies can be created around a shared common vision for language revitalization.

On the Journey

Building these types of relationships takes a great deal of time and energy. I began developing relationships with key individuals from the Six Nations community

who were involved in language initiatives in August 2006. I attended a language conference where I connected with several key community leaders involved in language revitalization and where I worked quietly, unobtrusively, and diligently in serving the Elders who attended the conference. I did not make any requests of them or demands on their time at this point regarding my own work. I simply served their interests. Subsequently I became involved with the Sweetgrass Language Council located in the Cultural Centre in Brantford, Ontario.

The focus groups also followed this same path. The participants in the focus groups were invited to participate in the sessions. Their decision to participate depended largely on their prior knowledge and perceptions of my relationships within the community.

Welcome at Woods' Edge

I waited patiently to be invited to dialogue with those individuals who deserve to be treated with the utmost honour and respect for their unwavering and long-standing efforts in the field of language revitalization. Once the relationships had been established, I was in a position to discuss this research with potential participants. This led to a series of meetings with key leaders in language revitalization within the Hodenosaunee community in which I freely discussed my work and was able to determine if they could see themselves connecting and partnering with the study that I was proposing to conduct. Because of the passion they have for their own work and the inclusivity born out of their mutual struggles, they were eager to participate in this study.

The participants in the focus groups were also welcomed in this manner and had an opportunity to socialize together prior to the session. Light refreshments were

provided during each session, which allowed individuals to connect and feel comfortable with the process. Introductions were also made at this point so everyone had an opportunity to meet and feel comfortable with their fellow participants and also to open up the opportunity for anyone to ask any lingering questions he or she might still have about myself as the researcher.

Rejoicing in Our Survival

The object in creating and establishing relationships is in listening about others' struggles and their current realities. The individuals who attended the focus group sessions were provided with an opportunity to dialogue about their past and how that had shaped them, their realities, and their work.

Recognizing Our Pain and Sorrow

The participants in the focus group sessions had an opportunity to dialogue on their own realities both personal and professional that impact language use and attitudes politically and socially.

Recognizing Our Responsibilities to Our Ancestors

It is critical to observe the spiritual needs of participants. Therefore, in order to honour, acknowledge, and demonstrate our respect to our ancestors and the spirituality of the participants, we opened and closed each session with a prayer of thanksgiving in the language of the individual who was invited to conduct the prayer. The opening prayer prepared us for dialoguing with a good mind and in a manner that worked toward enhancing community relationships. The closing prayer acknowledged the work that was done during the session and the presence of our ancestors that listened to our dialogue, it

also ensured that individuals in the focus group sessions were sent off to their homes with good thoughts and in safety.

Requickenings

The requickening portion of the process served to redirect and refocus the dialogue during the sessions into positive action, such as where do we go from here?

This redirected the synergy of our sessions into more positive and creative dialogue that spoke of life energy, hope, passion, light, creativity, and renewed commitment.

The Rare Words

This part of the method entailed revisiting the initial questions, reviewing the dialogue arising out of the focus group sessions, and working together in a collaborative knowledge building process to facilitate the development of key statements that served to create a common, unified, and sustainable vision for language revitalization in our community.

As Leaders What Must We Do?

As leaders/researchers we must: constantly be mindful of the various pitfalls such as misunderstandings by developing mutually agreed upon terminology, both at the outset in an ongoing manner as the need arises; be aware of and observe protocols that will contribute to and enhance ongoing relationships in a good way; set aside the issues that divide and disconnect our community, and instead look for areas of commonalities that bridge the divisions; come alongside and work with the current generation in determining their priorities, as well as preparing the way for the next generation. As such we must conceptualize the impact of our work from a multigenerational perspective.

Pilot Studies

I noted that a key factor in determining the success of this study was that I be able to predetermine if the research questions that I proposed to utilize within the focus group sessions would generate sufficient dialogue to enable meaningful and relevant discussion amongst the participants. I met with a key individual from the Six Nations community that has over 24 years of experience working within First Nations languages and I presented him with the proposed questions. He was quite pleased and impressed with the list of questions. Further, he stated that these were the kinds of questions that Anishinaabek, Mushkegowuk, Onkwehonwe (AMO), a provincial organization created to address the linguistic needs of the 13 language families across Ontario, were seeking to address. As we conversed, he engaged in a dialogue that moved easily and freely through the questions. We both felt confident that the culturally aligned research processes and questions would generate rich, meaningful, and relevant dialogue.

I queried him concerning the protocols around approaching Elders and asking them to share their knowledge. It had been my prior experience that the offering of tobacco would have been the appropriate observance of traditional protocols. I was advised that the offering of tobacco was not originally a Hodenosaunee practice but that in fact it was an observance borrowed from our Anishinabe relatives and, therefore, not necessary. Providing refreshments was an important observance, however, especially for the more senior participants and those traveling some distance.

Selection of Site and Participants

I submitted separate proposals both to Brock University Research Ethics Board and the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory Ethics Committee and obtained

clearance at all levels to conduct this research, copies of which are attached as Appendices C and D respectively. This study rigorously followed both Brock University's and Six Nations ethical guidelines for conducting research with human participants. The topic of this study and its method is non-intrusive in nature and did not cause any physical harm to the participants' health; neither did the topic of the study or the research engage the participants in any emotional trauma that they would not normally encounter during their daily activities. The participants were invited to share their stories and to answer the questions in any manner they deemed appropriate. The rights of the participants were protected at every level of the research process including the right to refuse to participate without repercussions. One participant chose to use a pseudonym, while the remaining participants elected to have their names published.

I organized two separate focus groups each containing 8 participants. The first group consisted of key researchers and educators in the area of language development, research, and reshift; the second group consisted of language students both current and graduated. I purposefully and intentionally selected the participants for each focus group based on an equitable balance between gender, socio-economic status, and educational experience in the language field, passion for and knowledge of their First language, and cultural experiences.

Once the participants had been selected, I contacted them through regular mail and provided them detailed information about the study, the questions that would be the focus of the sessions, the Informed Consent Form, and the proposed date and time for the focus group session in order to ascertain whether they would be interested in participating. I allowed 5 working days for them to receive their packages through the

mail and then subsequently contacted each of the participants in order to confirm their participation and to answer any lingering questions arising from the material they had been provided. If they agreed to participate, I reconfirmed the date, time, and location of their respective session. Some participants signed the Informed Consent Form immediately and arrangements were made to accommodate those individuals. The balance of the participants handed in their forms prior to the commencement of their respective focus group session.

One of the participants from the first group was unable to attend the focus group. This participant's perspective was crucial to this study and as a result the participant consented to a one-on-one interview. Upon submitting modifications to Brock University's Ethics Board, I was able to conduct the interview.

I have purposefully and mindfully chosen not to include specific, detailed descriptions concerning the participants in order to protect their anonymity. I have instead included demographics that include gender and background information within the narratives in Chapter 4. My rationale for so doing is that the Six Nations of the Grand River community is a small and tightly knit community where everyone is aware of and knows everyone else. Some of the information that was shared might be subject to criticism and/or ridicule by other members of the community who oppose language revitalization and therefore could potentially place the participants at some risk if they were identified.

Mr. Reg Henry and Mr. Jake Thomas are key figures within the Six Nations community and as such their names appear in the text where so noted by the participants. All other names have been changed to pseudonyms. As this study focuses on language

shifting among the Hodenosaunee of Southern Ontario as a whole, and more specifically within the Six Nations community, I have included the name of the community throughout the document. The Six Nations' Ethics "complete approval" includes permission to use the name of the community in the reporting of my research findings.

Site selection was an important element in the dynamic of the focus group. It seemed crucial to secure a site that was non-institutional and non-academic; centrally located within the community; clean, warm, and inviting; with sufficient area space to create a physical circle; had appropriate facilities for serving light refreshments, coffee, and tea; and would also provide an environment that would ground the participants to the natural environment. I thought that I had found such a place.

After considering some of the recommendations from community members and other researchers, I chose a local mini-conference facility. After the first focus group session I noted that the meeting room at the facility was too large and spacious for my needs, it did not serve to create the intimacy within the focus groups that I was looking for, and it was not as centrally located to the participants as I had first thought it would be. Further, it was difficult for the participants with physical limitations to climb the steep, uneven steps leading up to the facility. Because the focus group sessions were conducted in the evening to accommodate the various work schedules, I noted that the facility did not provide adequate exterior lighting, thus posing additional serious safety concerns.

After further deliberation I remembered that a small log cabin style hotel located close to the hub of the community, had conference facilities. I contacted the owner of the hotel and went to preview the facility. The meeting room was small and intimate yet

spacious enough so that we could sit comfortably in a circle. There was a smaller area just outside the conference room where we could socialize and enjoy the light refreshments. The facilities were clean, intimate, and well lighted creating an environment that was warm, inviting, grounding, and easily accessible to everyone. This site was perfect.

The two focus group sessions were arranged in a circle format that serves to ground the experience and create an atmosphere where all are equal participants in the process. The philosophy or ontology of the circle as a model within the focus group sessions is not to be construed as a noun-based static prescriptive format with a set entry and exit point within the process; the circle, according to Hampton (1995) is “iterative rather than linear. It progresses in a spiral that adds a little with each thematic repetition” that allows “movement in both the natural and spiritual worlds” (p. 6). In other words, the term “circle”, as it is used within this context, is a verb-based model that is dynamic and indicative of action, motion, and movement both around and within the circle model. In this way, the ontological circle is complete in and of itself; therefore, the participants themselves are not driven to complete the circle, but instead reflectively seek to find their place within the circle in order to consummate their respective experiences in a transformative and empowering process whereby the circle is reformed as each participant revisits and shares their respective experiences. This process is more in tune with Indigenous forms of engagement into meaningful, purposeful, thoughtful, and relevant dialogue. It also is greatly dependent upon the researcher’s ability to probe, direct, redirect, and generate associations between thoughts, ideas, and statements.

Data Collection and Recording

In preparation for the focus group sessions, I consulted with Brock University's Tecumseh Centre for Aboriginal Research and Education (the Tecumseh Centre) as to the best method for recording focus groups. After consultation as to the location and format of the groups, the Tecumseh Centre shared with me that they utilize the Sony Minidisk Recording system (Model # MZ-NF810CK) for recording research sessions. The versatility of the recording system easily adapts to a variety of session formats and provides a high quality recording. The minidisk system records approximately 5 hours of session time with an added backup feature that allows for an additional hour of recording time. The system is compact, inconspicuous, and records onto a 2.5 by 2.5-inch minidisk.

I received a short training session on the use of the technology from the Research Officer at the Tecumseh Centre. As well, he demonstrated the most effective methods for unobtrusively inserting the technology into the focus group session so that the technology blended into the backdrop of the session, would maximize the sound quality of the session while not distracting the participants. In this way the participants could relax and not feel intimidated by the visual presence of the technology.

I arrived at the sites 45 minutes before the scheduled time for each session in order to ensure everything was in order and to set up the refreshments and session format. I arranged the chairs in a circle allowing for two extra chairs, one for myself and one for the recording device. As per the recommendation of the Research Officer at the Tecumseh Centre, I used two recording devices-one to be used as a backup in the event that the first one failed. I taped the microphones to the sides of the chairs so that they

blended in with the set up. The microphones were set level with the seated participants and placed strategically to receive maximum input from all participants regardless of where they were seated in the circle.

After the participants had arrived and had enough time for socializing, during which time I collected any outstanding Informed Consent Forms, we gathered in a circle for the session. I thanked each of the participants for coming and deferred to the Elders, asking if one of them would be so kind as to open the session with thanksgiving to the Creator so that we may engage each other holistically, in a good way, and with a good mind. I thereafter reiterated the details of the study to all the participants in each session as well as with the one-on-one interview and provided an opportunity for the participants to ask any lingering questions they may have had regarding the study, the Informed Consent Form, or the session questions. I then provided additional assurances that their respective participation remained voluntary even at this stage of the interviewing process and that at any time during the session any participant was free to leave the focus group without any pressure or repercussions.

Due to the historical mistreatment and misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples by arrogant researchers who have come into a community in order to conduct research on Indigenous peoples like they were rats in a cage, research has embittered Indigenous communities. To this day the terms research, and by extension researcher, remain tainted with suspicion, anger, avoidance, and angst. As such, a relationship needs to be developed between a researcher and the community or culture-sharing group being researched, and more so when that researcher comes from within the community. L.T. Smith (1999), a Māori researcher, recounts her own early community research experience

as “learning more about research and being a researcher” (p. 139) than could ever have been experienced through lectures or course materials. Immersing herself in the research experience added a complexity to the experience in which she became an integral component of the totality of the experience, and not simply a detached observer/interviewer. L.T. Smith asserts that Indigenous research is also about the researcher him/herself being observed and having to build credibility within a particular community or culture-sharing group. Further, it is about “negotiating entry to a community or a home” (L.T. Smith, 1999, p. 136) through a complex process of observing “protocols of respect and practices of reciprocity” (p. 136); in this way, the researcher becomes the researched; the observer becomes the observed.

One of the participants in the first focus group session objected to a particular question and voiced it at the beginning of the session. This participant was not preselected by myself but had arrived, without any prior notice, with another participant who had been preselected. As such, the invitee had not received an information package directly from me containing the details of the study together with the Informed Consent Form. I was immediately aware that I needed to balance the needs of the community in creating an atmosphere of inclusiveness where all are welcome, while meeting the requirements of the University and the Research Ethics Board. While the other participants were mingling I approached the invitee and determined that she did indeed come to participate in the study. I went over the Informed Consent Form with her, which she signed prior to the commencement of the session, and thus covered the requirements placed upon me by my University without damaging the relationships I have established within the community.

The invitee, while talking about and looking over the material that the participant had shared with her prior to the focus group session, took offence to and was especially displeased about the question: How can we bring the traditional into the contemporary without losing the substance and integrity of oral traditional processes? The invitee, now a participant in the study by virtue of the signed Informed Consent Form, stated that she had read a paper by another author that addressed traditional and contemporary knowledge in a manner she found offensive, and therefore had associated my question with the aforementioned author's work. She indicated that by virtue of having read that work, she had prior knowledge of the topic and an advantage over everyone else in the session. The invitee had taken the question completely out of the context of the other questions within the focus of the study. I felt the tension and the intensity with which I was being scrutinized and tested. It was imperative that I approach this situation with the utmost dignity, respect, and gentleness in order to "develop membership, credibility and reputation" (L.T. Smith, 1999, p. 15). I very quietly and without interruption allowed the participant to finish her dialogue, after which time I calmly stated that I had no knowledge of the author's work in question and therefore could not speak to it; however, what I could speak to is what I meant by the question she had taken issue with. I explained the rationale behind the question and that I was talking about language and the fact that the Hodenosaunee languages come from a historically well-established oral tradition, and that there are some heated debates in our community about whether those oral traditions can or should be audio or video digitized or transcribed without damaging or altering the substance of the oral traditional processes. This in and of itself creates resistance and the erection of barriers to the various language revitalization efforts within

the community that rely on written curriculum and the use of technology. The participant continued to justify her need to have her concerns understood and I calmly reiterated my rational. This explanation met with the approval of the Elder participants who nodded their approval and verbally supported the inclusion of the question within the session, after which the participant engaged in the dialogue and provided good and valuable insight.

One participant from the first focus group decided to withdraw from the study after receiving the transcripts for review, stating that she preferred to focus her energies into teaching the language rather than in areas that she feels do not directly advance language acquisition. I informed her that I respected her decision and her contribution was immediately removed from the transcripts.

Data Processing and Analysis

The Research Co-ordinator at the Tecumseh Centre uploaded the minidisks on which each of the sessions was recorded into a computer software program called Audacity. Audacity imports and digitizes sound files and converts them to MP3 files that can then be burned onto a CD.

The audio files on the CD were transcribed by myself using Express Scribe, a professional audio playback control software program designed to assist in the transcription of audio recordings by allowing for variable speed playback that is controlled using the keyboard. Each segment was transcribed in Express Scribe and then copied and pasted into a Micro Soft Word document. I transcribed the audio files word-for-word, leaving the narratives intact and without touch ups, embellishments, or interpretative clarification. It was my intention to use the participants' stories exactly as

they were told to me, in that way validating and privileging the knowledge and wisdom of each participant. Each focus group session and the one-on-one interview were 3 hours in length, which translates to approximately 18 hours of transcription time for each set of transcripts.

The completed transcripts were then sent to each participant for her or his review and consideration. They were encouraged to review the transcripts for content, without concern for grammar or sentence structure, as I had endeavoured to capture their respective stories as they were told, given that individuals tend to speak less formally than they would when writing. The participants were also advised that he or she could add information that she/he may have thought about after the session, and/or delete text that he/she did not want to have included in the final transcripts.

The final versions of the transcripts were imported into Ethnograph v5.0, a computer software program designed to assist with the management and collection of large amounts of qualitative data, thematic coding, and analysis. Ethnograph v5.0 facilitates the compilation, organization, and manipulation of the narrative data both within independent data sets and across data sets.

Each of the focus groups and the one-on-one interview, while organized around identically ordered questions, weaved in and through the questions, diverging, converging, and intersecting one another at different points during each of the sessions and within the analysis.

Borrowing from some of the principles of an emerging design in grounded theory as noted in Creswell (2005), which “stresses the importance of letting a theory emerge from the data rather than using specific, preset categories” (p. 401), I wanted the data to

speak to me. I wanted to be able to listen to the codes that were emerging out of the living narratives. In order to accomplish this I began to live with the data. Initially analyzing the data, through coding, thinking, reflecting, reanalyzing, recoding, rethinking, and reflecting yet again in a multi-layered, multi-faceted circular pattern that added depth and dimension with each repetition of the process, allowing the themes to emerge and form. Each reflective analysis of the data that revealed a new code necessitated a further analysis of the remaining narratives in order to determine if the code appeared therein also. The data were not only analyzed for the codes that were evident and obvious but also for what was not so obvious. Words derive their meanings and interpretations from the connections we place on them; as such I needed to consider not only what was being said, but also how it was being said, and further, to look for what was not being said-the less obvious. I had to also consider how I could be certain as to the meaning and interpretation of what I was seeing emerge if I was constantly interpreting it through my own sense of how to generate meaning. The truth was I could not. I intuitively knew I had to immerse myself in this process.

This kind of convoluted process for data analysis is very organic in nature (see definition in Appendix A) and one that initially appears disordered and chaotic; however, in nature, there is sense within the non-sense. At a macro level, consider a substantially wooded area that appears unkempt and overgrown; there is life, sustainability, and order at multiple levels within the apparent disorder. At a micro level, consider DNA which is a nucleic acid essential to sustaining and maintaining all life, does not exist alone as a single entity. DNA consists of tightly associated pairs of molecules that entwine around in a spiral form called a double helix, which then further coils down around itself in a

process called super-coiling. DNA also has specific direction as well as a common unified vision and purpose⁶. DNA works to keep the body healthy by repairing or senescing damaged and unhealthy DNA, which ensures replication of only the healthy and stable DNA. Similar to the DNA whose focus and purpose is to replicate healthy DNA to keep the body functioning well and healthy, the focus and purpose of the HRM utilized in this study is to serve as a decolonizing process that purges the coding and analyzing process of unhealthy or harmful colonizing influences, and to replace it with a course of action more in sync with Indigenous ways of knowing and interpreting knowledge. This convoluted and intricate process for data coding and analysis has order, sense, and life at every level; twists, turns, and coils in on itself as themes emerge, converge, diverge and intersect with each other, and is as essential to the living and breathing organic process of coding and analysis as DNA or the unkempt and overgrown wooded area is to the sustainability and maintenance of life. Therefore, in order for this organic process to work, I had to let it emerge and speak to me rather than scheming and struggling to bring form to the process.

A detailed in-depth analysis of the transcripts in the Ethnograph software program had identified 24 separate thematic codes that threaded throughout all of the narratives. The Ethnograph program allowed me to examine the numerous thematic codes across all the transcripts and to consider the frequency of their occurrences and to identify the patterns that were beginning to emerge. The initial coding revealed no surprises and, in fact, generated the kinds of themes that I had expected to see such as language attitudes, fluency, and loss; intergenerational language transmission; identity, culture, and

⁶ Wikipedia Online Encyclopedia (n.d.). DNA. *Wikipedia Online Encyclopedia*. Retrieved January 8, 2008 from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/DNA>

spirituality; education, both formal and informal; as well as colonization and decolonization, just to name a few.

In the process of considering these codes and looking to reveal the prevailing overarching themes I also began to hear a very particular thematic pattern emerging out of the data, and one that felt strangely familiar. I began to hear the narratives being grouped into four repetitive themes: vision, relationships, knowledge, and action. I again went back over all of the transcripts to ensure that what I was hearing was indeed threaded throughout the narratives, and it was. I realized that the software program alone was insufficient to continue the analysis with this emerging organic design and that the data were evolving beyond the capabilities of a software analysis.

As I had stated, this pattern was very familiar to me and I realized that I had seen this before. This pattern was a Medicine Wheel model used for designing curriculum in the Course Guide for the Aboriginal Adult Education (ABADED) 4F85 Curriculum Theory and Design course. I found this revelation to be quite astonishing, as I did not intentionally set out to have the data emerging out of the narratives form such a pattern. I had purposefully and mindfully determined not to have any preconceived opinions about the overarching themes because, as I have stated earlier, I felt that it was crucial to allow the narrative to speak to me and to listen to the patterns that would emerge as a result of my listening. However, I must acknowledge that, given the fact that I consistently work within various Indigenous cultural realities and my own particular cultural epistemic worldview; I do envision reality from a point of connectivity, circularity, and iterativity. It is therefore no coincidence that, once the overarching themes had been identified, the

framework conceptual model used for further analysis evolved out of that particular epistemic reality.

The ABADED model mentioned above was designed as a model to create curriculum and not as a research analytical tool, which therefore necessitated a reconceptualization of the model and a rearticulation of the process for the scope of this study. As with the ABADED model, the elements of vision, relationships, knowledge and action are respectively arranged directionally in the Medicine Wheel. However, I have also included the four sacred medicines and four directional teachings of the Medicine Wheel that are represented within each direction: East, South, West, and North (see Figure 1).

Vision

Vision enters in through the eastern door of illumination⁷ and is represented by the sacred medicine, Tobacco.⁸ Visioning can be seen to be the act of anticipating something that will or may come to be. It can also be used in the sense of envisioning, which is to imagine or conceive the possible, or to be able to picture mentally some future event(s). Questions that are posed in the visioning process are:

- What do we want?
 - You need to know the *what* in order to create the *how*.
- How do we want to do it?
 - Must be done in measurable steps or stages.
 - When do we want it?

⁷ Serim, F. (1998). Four directions for life long learning. Retrieved March 21, 2006, from http://oii.org/html/the_four_directions_explained.html

⁸ Anishnawbe Health Toronto (2000). The four sacred medicines. Toronto, ON: Anishnawbe Health Toronto.

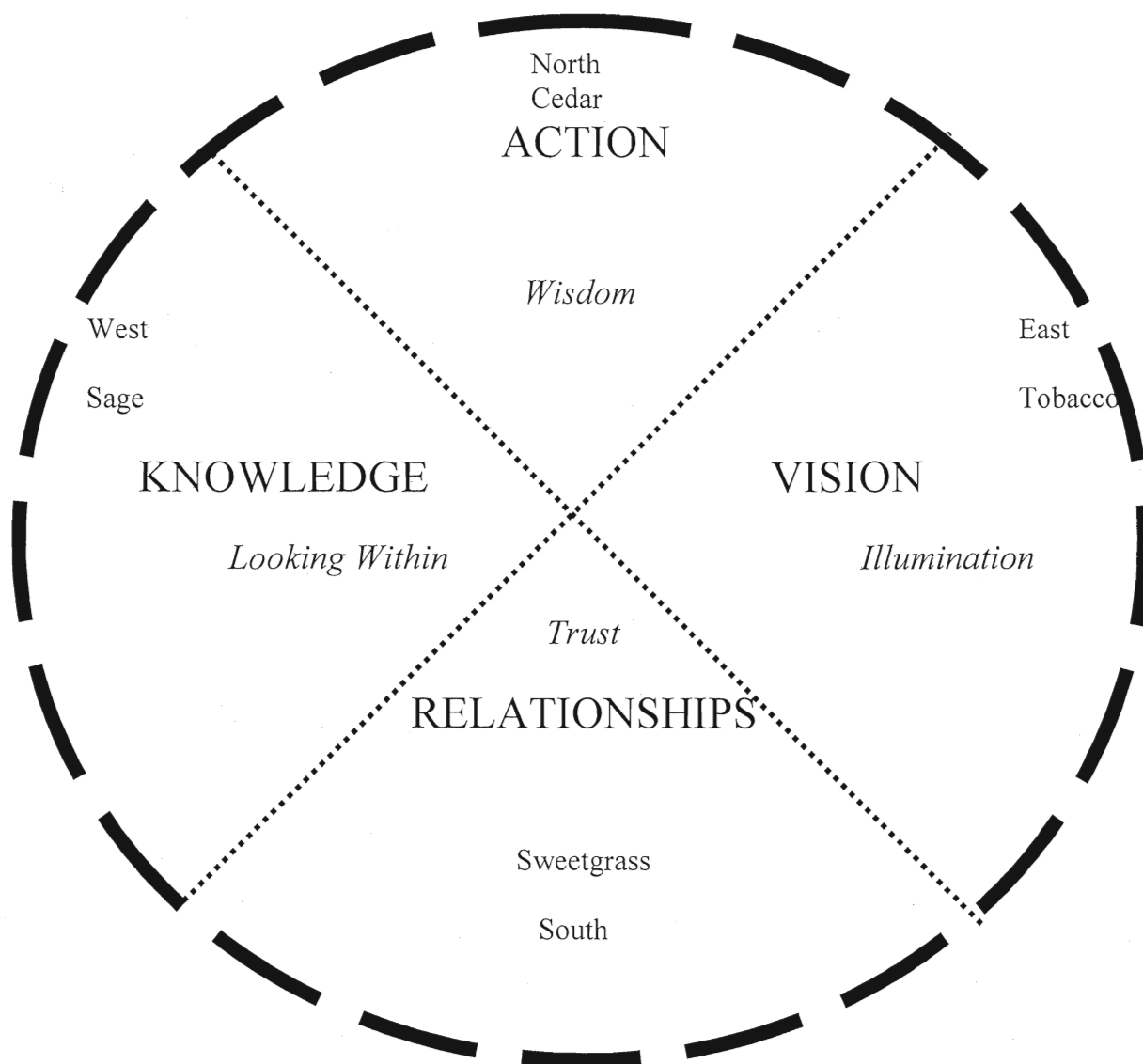


Figure 1. Medicine Wheel 1.

- Must contain a time frame or else it cannot be measured.
- Why do we want it?
 - Must have clear goals and objectives.
- Who do we want to be involved?
 - Need to have a clear idea of community involvement in order to get the community as a whole to buy into the agreed to plan of action.

Relationships

Vision in the eastern door leads us through to the southern door of trust⁹ represented by the sacred medicine, Sweetgrass¹⁰. This is the place from which relationships are established and maintained. Relationships can be evidenced either by the connections, associations, and conditions of being related, kinship ties, or particular kinds of connections that exist between unrelated people who have dealings with each other. This is the *who* of the quadrant.

Knowledge

Relationships in the southern door lead to the western door of looking within¹¹ as represented by the sacred medicine, Sage¹². This is the place from which we develop our collective and personal knowledge. It implies an acquaintance with facts, truths, or principles arising from study or investigation. Knowledge is about the creation, use, or dissemination of special knowledge. Further, it comes from the understanding gained

⁹ Serim, F. (1998). Four Directions for Life Long Learning. Retrieved March 21, 2006 from http://oii.org/html/the_four_directions_explained.html.

¹⁰ Anishnawbe Health Toronto (2000). The Four Sacred Medicines. Toronto, ON: Anishnawbe Health Toronto.

¹¹ Serim, F. (1998). Four Directions for Life Long Learning. Retrieved March 21, 2006 from http://oii.org/html/the_four_directions_explained.html.

¹² Anishnawbe Health Toronto (2000). The Four Sacred Medicines. Toronto, ON: Anishnawbe Health Toronto.

through experience or education gained either formally or informally. This is the: *What* do we want and *why* do we want it?

Action

The western door of knowledge leads us to the northern door of Wisdom¹³ where vision is actualized and is represented by the sacred medicine, Cedar¹⁴. Action in this process is constant, consistent, dynamic, and sustainable. This is the *how* are we going to do it and *when* are we going to do it. These are the measurable actions that allow us to assess the success of the initial visioning processes.

This assessment in turn leads to a re-visioning process that adds to and creates a spiral shape, as in the DNA double helix as we progress on through the process of re-visioning, developing relationships, creating and building new knowledge, and thereby establishing additional courses of action that can be measured in order to reassess the initial visioning, and on and on the process continues. This process is not static and linear in that it allows movement in and through the various themes and they intertwine and interconnect, as evidenced by the open lines in Figure 1. This convolution creates further complex dynamics when we consider each of the four prevailing themes: Vision, Knowledge, Relationships, and Action in the contextual perspectives of intrapersonal, as with oneself; interpersonal, as between others and Creation; national, extending throughout the Nation including Turtle Island (North America); and global, extending throughout the world (see Figure 2). As with the DNA molecules, each of these themes and contexts converge, intersect, spiral and coil around each other in a tightly woven and closely associated

¹³ Serim, F. (1998). Four Directions for Life Long Learning. Retrieved March 21, 2006 from http://oii.org/html/the_four_directions_explained.html.

¹⁴ Anishnawbe Health Toronto (2000). The Four Sacred Medicines. Toronto, ON: Anishnawbe Health Toronto.



Figure 2. Medicine Wheel 2

pattern that has a specific, determined direction, together with a common unified vision and purpose.

It is my intention to examine each of the four prevailing themes: Vision, Knowledge, Relationships, and Action and consider them within an interpersonal, intrapersonal, national, and global context in order to create statements about them that arise out of the narratives. In this way I will be working toward creating a common unified vision and statement of action both as a community and Nation from within the stories and narratives of the participants in this study.

Methodological Assumptions

Through aggressive legislative and educational policies the primacy and centrality of Indigenous languages all over the world have been shifted to the language of the dominant society and while the trend indicates that intergenerational transmission is lessening and weakening with each passing generation, the assumption is that Indigenous people or Nations, whether they are on Turtle Island or across the globe, want to revitalize their languages and want to become language communities. Another assumption is that sustainable language reshifting can only be grounded in the inevitable reality of the Hodenosaunee's ongoing relationships and interactions with the very same dominant society that tore their languages from them in the first place. It is also a further assumption that education is a key vehicle through which that reality will be achieved.

Language has been stated to have immense cultural identification for a people spiritually, socially, politically, economically, and as a means by which socialization and knowledge transmission is achieved. Language has been described as the connection through which Indigenous people interact with their ancestral knowledge, as well as

defining the roles and responsibilities around the use and interpretation of knowledge. It is assumed that language shifting is an essential component toward promoting a politically sustainable and economically viable future.

Strongly held beliefs around language revitalization have created “camps” that have fragmented the community and erected barriers to creating a unified common vision and purpose. Language loss has created a disconnect within this community and has contributed to the fragmentation of individuals, families and a Nation. Decolonization “reveals the impact that colonization has wrought on the individual, their families, their communities, and their Nations” (Hodson, 2004, p. 64) in order to shift our consciousness (politically, socially, and as individuals) so that we can begin to privilege our languages by placing them first instead of last on the list of priorities. Having said that, the overarching vision contained within this study is that regardless of the camp in which we find ourselves, we all want healthy viable communities. Communities free of violence and chronic substance abuse, where their members can enjoy a quality of life on par with the rest of society, and to reclaim the space where our languages are validated, honoured, respected, promoted, and used in daily interactions with each other.

Limitations

While I have sought to represent a significant cross-section of individuals from within the “language community” it is very difficult to have everyone who committed to participate in the study attend the focus group. An interesting comment was made to me by one of the participants in the study: Had I chosen to conduct one-on-one interviews with each and every participant, I would have been able to secure more participants for the study rather than the limited attendance I achieved through the focus groups. This

would have made the research processes, data collection, and analysis too voluminous and unmanageable.

The number of individuals actively involved in language efforts is too small, funding is extremely limited if at all attainable, and as such, everyone's personal and professional resources are overextended beyond acceptable limits; therefore time is a precious commodity. While everyone has been positive, accepting, and eager to participate, this study is simply one more demand on the participants' time and as such it is difficult to find the best time that suits everyone to come together.

I make no apologies concerning my subjectivity about the topic of this study and the process of the emerging design. If an individual is immersed in a process that is steeped in emotions, values, and ideals that are deeply reflected in the thoughts and feelings of the participants as well as the researcher, then that individual is, by the very nature of that process is immersed in subjectivity. Language issues have been my sole focus and intertwined throughout my work as both an undergraduate student and now as a graduate student.

While undertaking an internship in New Zealand, a particularly defining moment occurred while I was out walking-the thought quite literally exploded into my mind as I realized just how much we do, in fact, define and interpret reality by our own standards. We talk about it in classrooms and lecture theatres, we justify how we think and feel; as well, we convince others, and by extension ourselves that we do no such thing. It is not even intentional, but it is how we view our world, and it is the perspective from which we view other individual's or culture-sharing group's reality. Therefore, no experience, no research, and no coding or analyzing of data can be objective.

This study, in every sense, has been subject to my own sense of how to generate meaning from what I observed and experienced. As such I was constantly engaged in consistent reflexivity as I lived within the chaos of situating and immersing myself within the narratives. This is an exhausting, messy, and all consuming endeavour.

This study was conducted within my own community and as such I would essentially be considered an insider researcher by most academic standards. However, my academic experience and the fact that I was coming into this situation as a researcher meant that within my own community I was no longer viewed simply as a community member. The dynamics of the relationships that I previously had within my own community had changed for the duration of the study. In that way I was experiencing this study both as an insider and as an outsider within the community, which added a further dimension of complexity to the research. It was not possible to experience this kind of intense fieldwork from a distance.

Establishing Credibility

Each of the two focus groups and the one-on-one interview processed through a series of identical open questions designed to promote transparent discussions about culture, language, education, policies, and social issues that provided for the triangulation of data and would lend validity to the study. Further, member checking upon completion of the transcription ensured that the participants had the opportunity to reflect and review her or his transcript with a view toward providing clarification, additions, deletions or changes to the narratives, as they may have felt necessary. I have conducted periodic spot-checks on the interpretation of the data with randomly selected participants lending validity to the analysis of the data from this study.

Ethical Considerations

Language has been identified to have immense cultural identification for a people spiritually, socially, politically, and economically, and as a means by which socialization and knowledge transmission is achieved; as such, issues of language and education are fraught with emotion, values, ideals, and intense loyalties. It was imperative to ensure that every effort was made to protect the participants' anonymity (if they so chose) and to provide opportunities for debriefing upon completion of each session.

It is crucial to continue building and maintaining relationships within the community and with the participants who so graciously provided their personal time and effort to participate in this research. One such example occurred at the time I was dropping off some documentation at an organization where 2 of the participants in this study were working on translations and curriculum design. The whole team was having breakfast together and invited me to come over and sit with them. I had many errands to run that day but took the time to sit and break bread with them. I spent 2 hours talking with them about language, language issues, their work, and what I was doing. I also took the opportunity to talk about the themes I was seeing emerge out of the study. They were supportive and in agreement with how I was proceeding with the analysis. This type of ongoing relationship building establishes the sense of inclusiveness and collaboration in the research process and also demonstrates respect and legitimacy for their knowledge. This is about cultivating the fourfold "golden rule" around conducting Indigenous research: Respect, Relevancy, Relationship, and Reciprocity.

Restatement of the Problem

There are very few studies examining the political and social implications of language reshifting. This study considers the issues that researchers, language educators, and students, find need to be addressed in language development, government policies, and political agendas. I have attempted through this study to highlight the language community voice as to the various socialization issues and their relationship to language reshifting and education, and to also consider how language use and attitudes affect individuals and groups in identity formation, both personally and collectively, and how we can serve to create a unified collective vision and statement of action.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

I open this chapter with a quote from *Waioro*, which is a Māori play about a family's migration. It is not about a literal migration from a homeland per se but about a migration from traditional ways into a spiralling and fragmented sense of family, self, place, and past as they become immersed into the Pākehā or non-Māori way. In this excerpt Rongo, an 18-year-old Māori woman, is grieving and is talking to her Nanny, who has since passed from this world and whose guidance and strength she desperately misses:

I am standing in the water so I can touch home....Nanny, I'm so hungry, not for kai [food], but for words. Here, we kōrero [speak] Pākehā, not Māori. Not allowed to. E Nanny, kei te matakū ahau [I'm scared Nanny]. Scared I'll waste away to a whisper, then nothing, and I will forget our words, and if I do, my children will have nothing to eat. Their mouths will not know the taste we once knew, they will forget. But we are hurting ourselves. We are stopping ourselves from speaking the reo [language]. No one is doing it to us. Dad said if we live like Pākehā, then they will leave us in peace and we will be strong. But what will we be? I don't think we will ever learn their ways. We will be a lost people first....Lost. (Kouka, 1997, p. 30)

Waioro: Living Waters

Aggressive legislative and educational policies have ensured that Indigenous languages globally have shifted to the language of the dominant society. Globalization has connected people socially, economically, and politically. This also produces a scenario whereby previously geo-politically or geo-linguistically isolated people and

language groups are now in closer proximity, bringing in outside influences, creating power struggles and, at times, direct conflict. Globalization has also alerted us to the reality that Indigenous language loss and moribundity are at critical levels and as such is creating a worldwide movement for the necessity of language revitalization and preservation efforts. In Canada, over the previous 100 years, 10 once vital and thriving languages have become moribund with a further 10 that are endangered (Norris, 1998a, 1998 b). With the intergenerational transmission of language lessening and weakening so rapidly with each passing generation, it has been determined that within the next 100 years only 4 languages in Canada have sufficient first speakers¹⁵ to survive: Cree, Ojibwa, Inuktitut, and Dakota. The Hodenosaunee (Iroquoian) languages are not included in this list.

Language has been seen to have immense cultural identification for a people spiritually, socially, politically, economically, and it is a means by which socialization and knowledge transmission is achieved. Language loss in all of its varying forms constitutes a vacuous space where there was once unique knowledge systems; ways of thinking, perceiving, and being; biodiversity; as well as a temporal plane in which individuals thought about and interacted in their realities (Cajete, 1994; Norris, 1998a, 1998b; Wurm, 2001)-In effect, the very loss of a civilization itself. When an animal becomes extinct there are long-ranging ripple effects that remain from the vacuum of its existence, which are felt throughout the rest of Creation; language loss is no different.

As I reflect on my own journey into this study I can see it mirrored within the emergent findings of this study. My journey began with the vision I encountered during

¹⁵ "First Language speakers are those persons with an Aboriginal mother tongue who report the ability to speak an Aboriginal language" (Norris, 1998a, p. 25).

my undergraduate introductory Cayuga language course. It became clear to me throughout my own work and in the emergent findings of this study that in order for any vision, whether individually or collectively, to become a reality it must cycle through three stages of development on the road toward fulfillment (see Figures 1 and 2).

It was this understanding that has formed the development of this work. However, this vision is not mine alone but also belongs to those individuals who give so tirelessly and unceasingly of themselves to the work of preserving and protecting our First Languages. In this way the vision is a collective vision of a community.

Focus Group 1 was comprised of 8 participants (2 males and 6 females). It is interesting to note that it was extremely difficult to preselect for gender balance as I found that more females than males were willing to participate in the research study. While it continues to remain a mystery I did ask that question during a break in the focus group and again at the one-on-one interview and while no one had a specific rationale they did state that it was a common phenomenon. Of the original 8 participants, 4 participants attended with one invitee for a total of 5 participants in the first focus group and all of them were female.

One male participant who was unable to attend the focus group session has over 24 years of experience working within various language venues, his contribution was critical to this study and he consented to a one-on-one interview. Focus Group One and the interview consisted of various key leaders, educators, and community members with many years of experience working in language and cultural initiatives within the community.

Focus Group 2 was comprised of 8 participants (2 males and 6 females). Of those original 8 participants, 5 participants attended, 2 of whom were males and 3 of whom were females. This provided for a more equitable gender balance within the session. Focus Group 2 consisted of language students, both current and graduated. Two are current full-time language students and 2 are immersion graduates. The latter 2 participants are actively working in the area of language and education, one being an immersion teacher. The final participant is an ongoing language learner while working in the community.

Each group and the one-on-one interview processed through a series of identical questions; however as this process is organic rather than linear the progression through the questions is one where the dialogue converged, intersected, and diverged at various points throughout the sessions rather than addressing the questions one at a time. This organic and dynamic dialogue necessitates that I represent the findings in a manner that deviates from a logical progression through each question. In this way I have attempted to present the findings in a manner that better reflects the ensuing dialogue and one that works toward developing a series of statements about each of the emergent themes: Vision, Relationships, Knowledge, and Action.

Focus Group and Interview Questions

- What is language?
- What is the connection between language and education for the Hodenosaunee people?
- What role does language play in the educational process?

- What are the effects of language loss for the Hodenosaunee people and their communities?
- How can we bring the traditional into the contemporary without losing substance and the integrity of oral traditional processes?
- What are some of the effective strategies being implemented? Why are these successful?
- What is the reality of language shifting in Six Nations and how can we address that reality in Hodenosaunee education?

In the first focus group session I had remembered everything I had been trained to do in focus group sessions about being an observer of the process and not to insert myself into the session. Due to the composition of this session, the participants were experienced in dialoguing and sharing their knowledge and stories within a group session and as such I was able to sit back, observe, and listen to the stories. The participants engaged each other in dialogue with little or no prompting. Participants seamlessly weaved their stories into the tapestry of the questioning, moving from one to the other and back again. I could truly immerse myself in the experience without becoming a discussant, which is what I had hoped to accomplish as I wanted to privilege their knowledge, not my own. I did not want to unduly influence the flow of the dialogue, but rather, I wanted to see what would emerge out of the dialogue.

With the one-on-one interview it was much more difficult to not become part of the dialogue and I found myself engaging with the interview more informally than what I had thought would occur. It became more of an informal conversation between two colleagues than a formal interview. I struggled with this during and after the interview

because it went against how I was trained to engage with participants. I felt very anxious in that I might have inordinately influenced the interview through my engagement in the dialogue.

During the second focus group session, which was comprised of current and former students, I found it necessary to prompt and directly engage the participants with the questions. The participants were reticent and once again I found myself struggling with just how much I should be inserting myself into the dialogue. For the first hour of the session I filled the spaces in the dialogue by asking questions and making a conscious effort to keep the dialogue moving, which became a very laborious preoccupation and one that detoured the whole *raison d'être* of the session. As I realized what was happening I decided that it would be interesting to see how the session would progress if I did nothing except create the space where the silences could exist, and who, if anyone, would attempt to break the silences or take the initiative to keep the dialogue going. I began to count the length of the silences; one such silence was 21 seconds long. The same participant broke the silence each time by asking open-ended personal information questions. However, as I purposefully but gently disengaged from the dialogue the silences eventually were of lesser and lesser duration as the participants began to work through engaging one another in the dialogue without any further prompting on my part other than to occasionally ask the probing questions.

While I do not have any concrete answers as to why the interviews occurred in the manner and form that they did, I nevertheless realized, after transcribing each of the sessions and rereading the transcripts that each session transpired exactly as it should have. In my view the process of privileging the knowledge of the participants in this

study necessitated that I be willing to allow the dynamics of the process to guide me and to trust in that rather than in my own attempts to create what I think should have occurred. Letting go of the process is one of the most difficult things a researcher can do.

Vision

Visioning lies at the eastern door of illumination and is represented by tobacco. Tobacco was the first plant given to the people in order for them to be able to communicate with the spirit world and, as such, initiates interactions with all the other plant spirits. Tobacco is a very strong and sacred medicine; thus it is always offered first before anything else. All else is done through the offering of tobacco, and therefore like tobacco, vision is the beginning of all the other processes; it is the fountainhead.

As I considered the data from the point of visioning, I noticed that Group 1 and the one-on-one interview saw visioning as equally important while Group 2 appeared to perceive it less so (see Figure 3). I found it interesting that both Group 1 and the interview, which comprised the more senior or key community leaders who cumulatively had many years of experience and were deeply imbedded in language issues, saw vision as a crucial component in language initiatives. Group 2 that was comprised of students both current and graduated did not appear to consider visioning in the same way. I have recounted the participants' narratives in the same way they were told to me, with only very minor modifications for clarity, in order to privilege their respective knowledge and honour their stories.

Intrapersonal

If we are not able to articulate a personal vision then how can we expect to be

able to come together to create a common unified vision as a community and/or a Nation?

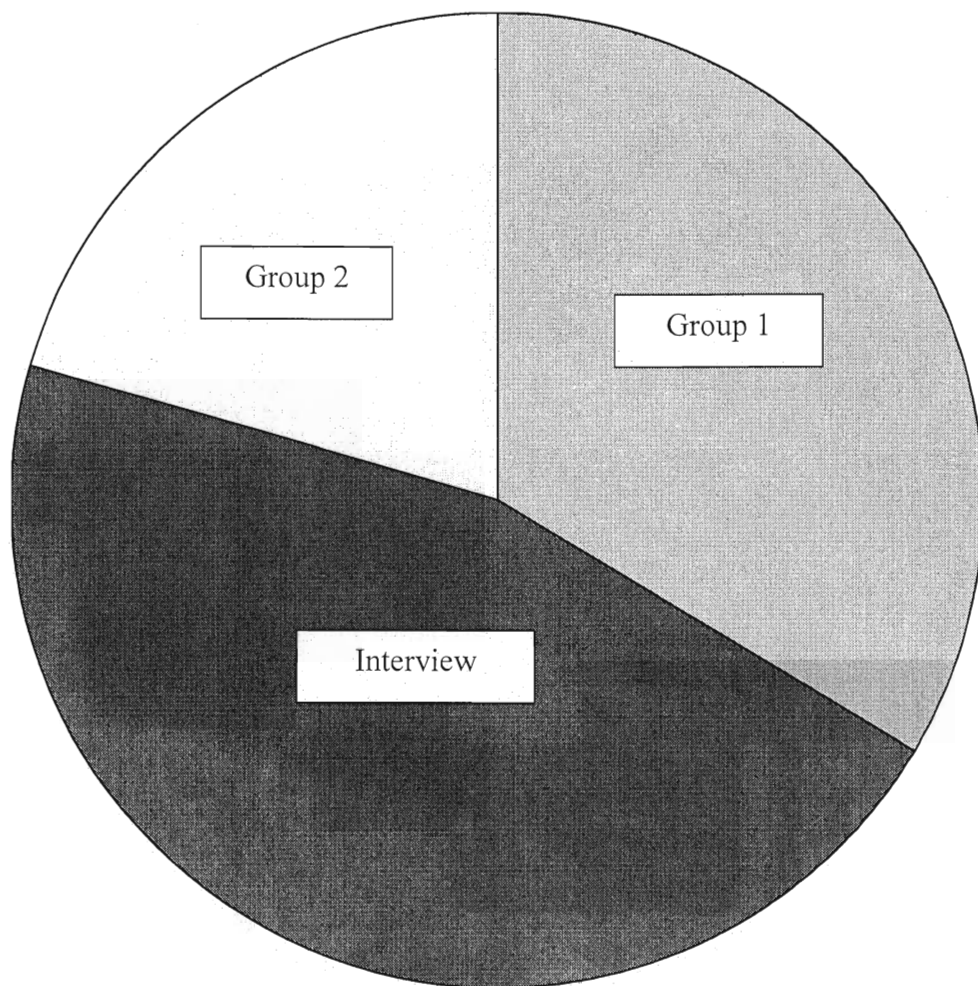


Figure 3. Vision.

Focus Group 1

- I guess what we have to do is erase all these feelings of people looking down on us because we speak our language.
- When people were applying [for funding] to learn the language it wasn't just to learn the language; it was to help with their identity and to help us heal as a community. It was part of the whole aspect of who we are as a people, as a community, to make us better, to raise us up as opposed to just learning the language.
- I think that's what we need to do. We need to start listening to our kids because I think they need to be addressed as to why they should learn their language.
- If I can get these children to start learning it at the younger age they won't be shy like I am to do the stirring ashes and to do the men's chant.

Interview

- To be able to say who you are and be proud of your heritage and your customs are what makes you different, what makes you different in a healthy way and you're not lost. I mean then you're not a ghost of your ancestors. We're getting down to be ghosts of our ancestors when it should be the other way around. We're going to be so hollow; we're just going to be people with colour, shells.
- If it helps give you a balance of who you are as self-identified by at least having a chance at making the playing field level then you should have a good grounding in who you are. Because the party politic, the politics of the day,

you're gonna get consumed by it. You are because you're in a dominant society.

Focus Group 2

- I'm finding a lot of people start but it really takes a commitment to say I want to learn this, to stick with it because it's a total twist of mindset.
- I know, now that I'm a teacher I need to be a role model.
- I remember a couple of the old guys telling me how my grandfather spoke probably five languages. Just knowing that they had that capacity to have that many languages and I'm struggling with one, but that sort of an incentive for me to, to want to do what I am doing with learning the language are those stories that I had learned when I was young.

Threaded throughout the above discourse on intrapersonal vision is the notion that language is not simply about a form of communication, it is really a dialogue about individual identity and connection with a sense of positive self-worth and personal wellness. Storytelling¹⁶ is seen as a crucial component of understanding one's place in the past in order *to be* in the present. It is also through storying¹⁷ that one develops a sense of self-identity, representation, and place within the social and cultural community framework of a particular culture-sharing group. It provides the foundation upon which an individual's sense of being is developed. As storytelling was traditionally conducted in the language, it was also deemed to be the internal motivating factor for learning the language. The notion of having the language ensures that an individual does not become

¹⁶ In this context storytelling is the art of telling a story that takes into account both the narratives as well as the body gestures, use of visualizations (seeing the images being portrayed), acting, oral interpretation, and vocal inflections.

¹⁷ Storying is referring to how we describe in story our experiences through personal, community, national, and global narratives.

a *ghost* of his or her ancestors. Ghostly or ghost-like is representative of an individual who does not have his or her language, one who is a pale, dim, shadowy image of his or her true self. It is representative of someone who is caught between worlds, not able to be in either, and is lacking a firm sense of identity and place; they exist but in an aimless, life-less, and form-less state. Each of the participants articulated the concept of healthy positive self-identity and place as a personal internal commitment to the process of shedding the cloak of colonization through a conscious paradigmatic shift. It was further articulated that as role models we must embody what we each want to be within the collective.

Interpersonal

Our individual personal visions combine to form a collective vision. That collective vision can be positive or negative. Once we can understand and articulate our own personal vision and how we see ourselves in the past, the immediate, and in a future, then and only then can we determine our collective vision for our families and community.

Focus Group 1

- I believe that things are ever changing and that with language we have that discipline to be able to change but also to bring forward the values and the beliefs of our culture that we are still enhancing the, you know the earth because, you know, we are the host of the earth and that it's our responsibility to work with all of those elements to bring that life and that, you know that energy that we get from the earth, that it's our responsibility to return that

back, so that even though things are moving and people are changing, you know that change is good but I think that those values have to come forward.

- What we're told too is culturally, is that we're going to be happy as long as we keep the culture and the longhouse ceremonies alive. And who's going to do that? The people and if they, young people aren't trying to learn or don't want to learn. What's going to happen? Cause once that language is gone, so is the ceremonies. Cause they have to be conducted in the language in order for the Creator to hear us. He doesn't understand when we're speaking English.
- I am an old person now; we have to be persistent. We have to keep saying these things and hope that somewhere that someone hears us, is listening and will do what we say.
- Fluency, I think when you are able to converse entirely in the language. Have humour, wit, and can describe situation. Also are knowledgeable in what they call the high language ceremonies that take place in the longhouse, these are the true speakers. There are people who are passively fluent. They can understand, but have difficulty conversing. I don't consider myself fluent. Because I have so much more to learn.
- We need to try harder. I remember one day my mother, this is what she said to me. She says I guess my grandchildren will never be able to talk to me because we all, they all speak English. That's why I started teaching because I wanted to change that. I wanted my mother to hear the little children speaking back to her again the way it used to be a long time ago. And I did

get my wish. Before my mother died she did hear her grandchild speak back to her in Mohawk, what she wanted.

- Students said to me, who do I speak to when I learn this language, there's nobody to speak to at home? Who do I speak to? I says you can speak to me. That's one way that you can keep me alive. So to me that's how they really tried. These kids they spoke so that they could talk to me.
- Your language, your traditions and your culture. They're all like this in your culture. You can't have one without the other. And the minute you lose your language so goes those two other things. They're going to go out the door too. That's important your language is. And this is the point that we can't get across. We've come to that conclusion if we won't tell them now, who's going to be left to do it? Because every time somebody dies they take a whole bunch with them. They are taking all their knowledge that was given to them by their ancestors. That's what we won't have.
- Our culture and religion gave those values through our language. Because something that is said in the native language has no translation in English.
- I think that [language] needs to be supported by the community. Like by the band council, it should be in their policies and it should be a goal of employment, and in the community that we become language community. It has to be a collective thing.
- To go along with that language, they should know our culture and our history; that creates a balance. That's what we are always trying to achieve is that balance in our community and I think that's only how its going to get there. It

helps to bring that balance, that wellness to us, and it creates harmony in a community.

- It's not a compliment to our people that they want to learn the language, there's no money for it, and what do you want to learn that for? Where are you gonna go with that? I think it develops our community that's where it goes. That's where the integrity is in this community and with those people who are speakers.
- We have to be able to find a way make this whole community buy into this idea of, that it's [language] important.
- We have a lot of people who are interested, but only for a time that serves them best. It's not part of their whole life. It's not part of their commitment to really be dedicated to that and to use it all the time.

Interview

- Gaweniio was a pilot project in the late 80s and the outcomes of that were amazing. The drop out rate is less than 1% from kindergarten to 12. Less than 1% are on social assistance. If you look at the big picture, what you want for your civilization, that's very good. Most have gone on to college and university, and the rest are employment or self-employed. That's what you want for your society. Those are the social indices when you say, quality of life.
- You can retain your degree or quality of life; you can still have it and remain with your language. That's where my struggle is now is to equip our young people with that.

- That's where the board [Gaweniio] is struggling now. How do we build a better physical plan for these students? The furnace is going, the water isn't good, and we gotta use portables. Three miles down the road there are these multi-million dollar English stream schools. We're the poor second cousin. It's sad to think that way but that's what we are. We get the dregs of whatever we can negotiate with Indian Affairs. It's really unfortunate.
- I think that's even more important why we should keep the language, because the moral code talks about the fact that there is going to be contact and this is how you're going to have to prepare yourself. All of those nuances are there, the hidden meanings and interpretation of the old tenants.
- I dared myself to raise the fact that I should ask them what they thought about recording verbatim ceremony and music. So I took it from my heart and I said something like you know I'm so afraid you guys are going to be the lucky ones because you'll still manage to be buried in your language. I'm not so sure I'm going to be able to be buried in my language. But at least if push comes to shove, they could put a tape recorder on; and they got it. It's a national treasure. That's what I equate it to. It's our national treasure. And it's all banked. No other institution in the world has that collection. It's basically raw verbatim recording audio. What the next generation needs to do is to transcribe, then translate and that's a lifetime of work.
- We're going to get a focus group going, of volunteers, that'll sit down, if not every week, every other week to just go through it to make sure that we're capturing as correct a representation in writing of that.

- They [the individuals at the reclamation site who engaged in random acts of violence that jeopardized the Confederacy's position with respect to the negotiations of the local disputed land claim site] don't understand the language so if the confederacy does speak to them in the language [for correction] they wouldn't understand and it would have to be translated. But let's bring them in and talk to them and tell them this is how it is. Do it in the language and maybe translate it. At the same time thank them for what they did but still this is not one of our strategic sites.
- I would like to define what the role of council and elected chief is. It's assumed authority, there's nothing prescribed of what it cannot do, or what it can do even. I would like to try to attempt to create a modern day charter that would address the Great Law in it. Almost a facsimile or in skeleton like the Constitution of Canada in that it will not aggregate or derogate from all of those tenets or principles that we get out of the Great Law. That would be the first statement. And then, and that, to that end we would have a bureaucracy or a civil service that will make sure that happens.
- The whole thing about education is so sick to me. I know there's a danger and a reluctance to take over education on Six Nations and that's fine but how can we make what we have left work for us. In the last three or four sessions of council there has not been a champion of education.
- We haven't been about creating an in-school program for language arts, which includes scope, and sequence. I'm trying to use literacy to support fluency. We don't have the written form of language arts, meaning that we don't have

a course of study in grammar, literature, and spelling. When I went to school we had three separate points of the day in which we took our spelling books out, our literature books. I was in an English immersion, if you want to take it that way. We haven't treated our language that way for Cayuga immersion. Even though we spoke English fluently as best we could at that age level, we still had those three required courses for language arts. We need to develop that, I think, in scope and sequence from K to 12.

- We need individuals who are writers that know the language to create the spellers, to create the grammar and then get the writers to write the literature. We have some of it, whether our ceremonies translated and transcribed could be our literature.
- We came from an oral tradition. The languages were all oral at one time. We are just now committing it to paper. We haven't adopted it as part of the education system; educating ourselves in the language.
- We never sat down and said we're going to come up with some kind of a system for fluency. That's about building capacity and we haven't done that in the language. We have a school now, but maybe that's what we have to do next is create an institution and their role is going to be to identify outcomes for fluency. It would be a combination literacy and oral. We're trying to condense time for our language that the English and French language took hundreds of years to develop these institutions.
- The funding formula is still 1986. That's sick and then they expect you to take it over. So I mean they haven't expanded or brought that formula up to

date. You know, the thing is they don't fund you for a system of education they fund you as a classroom.

Focus Group 2

- That's the one thing that has to change about the mindset of people. Not just people who don't think it's important but us too, who do think it's important to be that determined about it. To be, I guess, one minded about it; to not use English just because it's convenient.
- Our goal is to eventually throw English out the door. There will be no English spoken in our home at all.
- I think it might be teaching. But I don't know which way. That's why I'm trying a different way than when I went. I'm combining it.
- That's some more of the thinking in the language that more people need to have. More pro-activity or whatever.
- I think that's asking too much [a whole community response]. Cause there isn't that interest there. I think there's a lot more people that are afraid of exploring that than are interested taking the language.
- The thing that would go is your sense of identity. Cause what else is going to set you apart if you can't talk really. I don't know if people don't realize it or don't care. It seems like it in the community. They think they should care but they don't, or someone else is going to do it.
- You begin to think in a seven generations concept. What do I do that allows me to practice good business and a sustainable future not only for me but also for everybody?

- For myself knowing that those stories are out there. I want to be able to converse with my grandmother because I want to be able to talk to her. Let her speak as I tape it because I hope that I can go back to it and say these are the stories, have them transcribed, and out there as a resource for those ones coming. What is it in the language that my grandmother knows that she passed to my dad that he passed down to me that makes me who I am? This would be something that could be passed down to the children to say this is where you come from and this is who you are and why, how you are what you are.

One thing that is key throughout this dialogue on interpersonal or collective vision is the notion of community and integrity. Community is defined in this context around principles of a collective likeness, similarity, and identity. Integrity is articulated through a firm attachment to high moral principles based on honesty, sincerity, and citizenship.¹⁸ Integrity also denotes wholeness and completeness, which speaks of healing and wellness. The intrapersonal vision for healing and wellness for ourselves as individuals through the acquisition of our language, and thereby culture and traditions as well, can be further expanded into a unified collective vision for a healthy community. However, what does that mean? Health can have a multifarious interpretation. The participants in this study articulated that vision as an organic concept (see Appendix A) constantly in flux, evolving, and changing contextually and as such must be grounded in the principles of respect, relationship, reciprocity, and responsibility. The vision was described in

¹⁸ Citizenship within the scope of this document includes but is not limited to the allegiance, whether by birth or by choice of an individual to the Confederacy, elected Council, community, and/or nationhood together with all of the duties, rights, and privileges associated with that citizenship. It is not intended to represent the Nation of Canada to which Indigenous peoples of Canada do not claim citizenship.

action-oriented terms such as persistence, commitment, teaching, trying, changing, storying, community driven support, pro-action, and goal setting. Community language support that values the principles for language acquisition was put forth as a key element re-balancing and re-connecting a fragmented community that would raise the quality standards of living for its citizens, thereby promoting healing and wellness within the community as a whole. This is about a community, once again through a socially conscious paradigm shift, developing a collective unified vision around the principles of language shifting, as previously discussed, and thereby reclaiming ethical space for decolonization. Ethical space in this particular context is connected to the notions of integrity and community as discussed above.

National

Our vision for our community can combine with other community visions into a collective vision for Indigenous people nationally. I am not suggesting that we perpetuate the ideology of homogeneity but rather that across the Nations there will be points of commonality in the collective visions for our communities. The details of how to implement such vision might be interpreted and implemented differently through each Nation's cultural lens; however, the principles and generalized statements can be common nationally. Nationalism is interpreted as the desire of a people to preserve its own language, religion, traditions, and etcetera. The government relates and responds primarily to demographical information and until such time as the various Nations can come together in a collective unified vision the government considers the various individual Nations and/or communities as only disconnected and fragmented onesies and

twosies, which is not the demographic manifesto that can or will demand and effect change.

Focus Group 1

- I believe that things are ever changing and that we have that discipline to be able to change but also to bring forward the values and the beliefs of our culture. Change is good but I think that those values have to come forward.
- One time when we were in a classroom, me and the kids, they were asking me why are we learning this language, why are we learning Mohawk? I said, you know if you look around you, we are like the animals. We need our identity. If we all stood facing one way and all the animals were back here we couldn't see them. If we could bring in horses, cows, pigs, chickens, ducks, turkeys, how could we identify them? That's the way we are. We have our own voice. Every nationality of people have their voice I says and we need to be stingy of it. Because that's the way we can identify who those people are. Just like the animals, just like the birds, that's the way we are too, that's our identity. We need to be proud of who we are as Onkwehonwe, because no matter where we go everybody know we are Onkwehonwe. We are the ones denying that. We're denying that because we chose to speak, not our language anymore.
- The school, it doesn't belong to us. But I wanted to turn it around and make it so that what the school took away from us, the school would give it back.
- And to me, I think that's what the language is all about. It has to come back alive because it died somewhere I don't know when but it died. And, and now we need to make it come back alive.

- We need to not only say it but we need to feel it we need to touch it, we need to smell it. That way it will take in our whole body. It's that spirituality that we gotta have. All those words, it has to all come back together. To me this is my opinion as how language can be revitalized. We have to live it again like we did a long time ago. And that's what was the joy of this language. And I think that's what we've lost. The joy and the living of it, and, and I don't know how else to explain it but that's how I see language is.
- Why is it we say we're a Nation but yet we're speaking English? Why don't we speak our language when we negotiate? We should have interpreters; that's what other Nations do. But how many can do that today? How do we change that, how do we do that? How do we turn it around? How do we convince them?
- We don't have to tell them it's important to us. They know it that's why they took it away from us.
- I'm gonna say one thing here and I don't know if it's gonna have an impact; but I have some of my people going to these tables and talking about negotiating land claims. I said you know nobody is talking about language here. Nobody is bringing that up how our language is dying. Everybody is doing land claims. We could get the whole, what do they call this, Turtle Island back, but if we loose our language and our culture what good is it?

Interview

- Language is the glue that bond that keeps whatever we want as part of our society alive and well. It's all grounded in what you think of yourself as a civilization, as being nationalistic.
- I look at the world and I see civilizations that have maintained their language; and what keeps them apart or sets them apart is their language and their sense of nationality is born out of that.
- There has to be a paradigm shift in the lexicon of our people. We don't just have a culture it's a civilization.¹⁹
- The Charter of Rights guarantees it so why not exercise it. That's the level now we need to start thinking to maintain our languages.
- We have a civilization that evolves into one severe sense of nationalism; we have a social context, a social intelligence, an artistic intelligence, all of that is part of the language. And that's why it's important to me, and I mean that's why I think it's important.
- I don't think that economics has to be translated. Dollars are dollars, cents are cents; the language of commerce in Canada is English so just use it?
- I would really like to have [a think tank]. We would use the social indices that this country uses or those international indices for social development.

What makes your country healthy and then do the research about our society.

That would be the report card that we would try to change every time this

¹⁹ The participant in this session defined culture as something that is perceived to be static and fixed in time, whereas civilization is seen to be a way of life that is evolving, dynamic, progressive, and bi-cultural with many complex systems in place to support and maintain the health and well-being of its members.

think tank met. It would be like the one from the Frasier Institute on economics it comes out like an annual report. We could do it every two years hold it up to the government [as a] report card. This is coming from our academics, our scholars, our own scholars.

- The francophone education system teacher student ratio is sometimes 5 and 10 per teacher, in bilingual education; they fund it. So the cap per student in francophone education can be as high as \$20,000 per student. It's sort of like the sacred cow and nobody questions it because it's guaranteed in the Constitution of Canada.
- The Inuit will tell you that because there are francophone families and bureaucracies that are in Nunavut, those parents demanded a francophone school and they spent I don't know how many millions, 20 something million to build a school for 36 kids.
- In Quebec there is a multi-million dollar Indigenous school but the kids aren't going. There's nothing tying them to it; they have to learn a whole new language to go there.
- Rosa Parks made a statement by not sitting at the back of the bus and I can't help but think about those ladies in Caledonia, yes they set up a flag, but they may be the Rosa Parks.

Focus Group 2

- It sometimes makes me wonder if our people even realize, again, the importance of the language.

- The function of the schools has to be more specified; is the school going to be to teach the language or is it going to teach in the language. Cause those are two different things.
- Our way of doing business is what does your community need?
- I believe we have the Creator helping us little by little, making inroads to where we're gonna see the day when our languages may not be fully restored in our communities but they're gonna be there, and they're gonna be vibrant, and they're gonna be healthy. We just gotta do our part and do as good as we can do. That's what our Elders are always telling us.
- We talk about life and what is involved in life and it all comes from the language and understanding who we are, where we came from, where we are now, and where we want to go, and using the culture as a vehicle to get us there.
- I believe we need to commit our time and energy into revitalizing our traditional governments. We are distinct people; we are not Canadians.

Once again we encounter this organic element in language shifting in that our communities are connected with one another nationally. The notion of national identity and voice was prevalent throughout the above statements. We are known to one another across Nations through the identification of the language that we speak. What I found particularly interesting was the admission that in choosing to use only English as a method of communication we are, as a people, denying who we are at the very core of our being which is again connected to a sense of place within a national identity. I have attended national language conferences in Canada where the idea that our languages need

to become alive again, or in other words, revitalized, is a theme echoed by every culture-sharing group represented at those conferences. It is the assertion of the participants in this study that, without the use of our own languages, we cease to exist as a distinct people and culture-sharing group. This is a common issue for Indigenous people nationally, and for that matter internationally, and not just for this particular community. The educational experience of Indigenous people has been well documented to be similar across Canada as well as the need to reclaim and reconstruct those educational and political spaces. This too entails a socially conscious paradigm shift in order to reconceptualize notions of sovereignty, nationalism, and citizenship.

The vision for a healthy community can be expanded to include Indigenous communities nationally and would serve to unify individual Nations who could subsequently engage the government as a unified body or league²⁰ of Nations. Rosa Parks, a political activist during the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s, who through her act of civil disobedience effectively bridged two fragmented worlds, one black and the other white, is representative of activism. By refusing to give up her seat on a public transit bus, Rosa Parks became a symbolic agent for change by resisting and challenging stereotypes, national legislation, the status quo, and thereby reclaimed space *to be*. Language is our Rosa Parks' bus that will carry us forward as we must become agentic²¹ individually, as a community, and nationally in carrying forward our collective vision.

²⁰ In this particular context refers to an association comprised of many Nations united together and designed to assist one another and is not in any way to be construed to represent the Confederacy or Council of the League as instituted by the Peacemaker for the Hodenosaunee.

²¹ Agentic in this context refers to being an agent for change, whether personally or collectively.

Global

Global refers to having an understanding of the collective unifying vision that connects Indigenous people around the world and further, that no culture-sharing group or any of its members are isolated in her/his/their struggles. Indigenous people belong to a network of individuals who are connected through their shared colonialist experiences.

Focus Group 2

- Our people [who] follow that cultural component understand that our responsibility is to see that life continues and not to sell it off to the highest bidder. And that's what this one mono-lingual society seems to believe in. And I believe it's because of that they have no tolerance.
- People that come from a foreign country to this land, if they ever find themselves losing their language, their culture, their customs or whatever, they can go back someplace else and find it again. Where do we go when it's gone? We can't find it on the moon; we can't find it on Mars; it's here. We either look after it or we loose it. Where do we go? We go right here. We have to rebuild and look after what's here.
- I think it boils down to not only a political agenda, we never separated politics and spirituality anyways, a spiritual agenda.
- In terms of their [Hawaiian] determination to do it. They were in the same boat we are now 20 years ago. The Hawaiians said they just resolved not to use any English ever in their school and between each other. Even when they [Gaweniio] went there they wouldn't let them talk English around any of their

kids cause it would influence them that much. They said you can't talk English at all.

- We don't just talk for our selves we talk for everybody. One Elder told me the end of the world is gonna come and it's not gonna because of a bomb, or war, it's gonna be when we no longer have a person who gets up in the morning and says the Thanksgiving [Address]. When theres no one left who speaks the language; that's the day the Creator will say, you've neglected the gift, today's the day, it's done. I believe that's the day when none of our people anywhere in North America stand up in the morning and offer thanks. That'll be the day that He wraps it all up, puts it away, and says it's done. That's got everything to do with the language.

The one key element that has been identified by the participants as contributing to the success of the vision for language revitalization for both the Hawaiians and the Māori is their dedication and commitment to the promotion and use of their languages both within the community and within the political and legislative arenas; further, that kind of dedication and commitment necessitated a 180-degree socially conscious paradigm shift. It is the assertion of the participants in this study, as well as of the Hawaiians and the Māori, that language issues are not simply about engaging politics solely for the sake of political activism but that there is a also spiritual agenda in play. As discussed previously in this document, language has deep spiritual connections for a culture-sharing group.

The participants in this study discussed issues of immigration and that these immigrant individuals can, if they wish, trace their language roots back to their homelands; however, this is our homeland. If we do not change how we perceive our

languages and begin to privilege them we will lose them, and once they are lost there is nowhere else to go to retrieve them. This is the same concept for other Indigenous culture-sharing groups globally. When Indigenous people, regardless of where they live around the world, speak in their language it is believed that they are communicating directly with the Creator in a way that is gifted and unique to that culture-sharing group. Indigenous peoples around the world assert that the Creator gave each of them their respective languages as a gift to treasure and protect. Should they not value, treasure, and protect those languages and instead allow them to disappear the results could have global implications. Globalization has created the scenario where previously isolated Indigenous culture-sharing groups can connect and network in their shared struggles around language issues. This speaks to the need for a vision of language revitalization and sustainability that reaches out and connects Indigenous people around the world.

Relationships

From an Indigenous perspective relationships are crucial to the survival and maintenance of every aspect of life whether spiritually, mentally, emotionally, or physically. Just as in the supercoiling of the DNA strand, each cycle within the relationships circle is working together, coiling, overlapping, emerging, and building onto the next. Relationships lie at the southern door of the circle and are represented by sweetgrass, the sacred hair of Mother Earth. Its sweet aroma reminds people of the gentleness, nurturance, and loving kindness she has for the people. When used in a healing circle it has a calming effect.

Each of the two focus groups and the one-on-one interview equally viewed relationships as a vitally important aspect of language and its related issues (see Figure

4). It appears from the findings that each participant found relationships to be of paramount importance. I have recounted the participants' narratives in the same way they were told to me, with only very minor modifications for clarity, in order to privilege their respective knowledge and honour their stories.

Intrapersonal

The kind of relationship we have with ourselves affects our relationship with others.

Focus Group 1

- Having language helps to discipline a person in their behaviour, their attitudes that they carry, and the beliefs that they hold. It shows in our behaviour; how to take care of themselves; how to honour themselves and where they come from and you know all of that respect.
- I have always expressed to the kids that I taught, that your language is who you are.
- Sometimes we are too fast to blame something else for our predicaments. I think we have to start learning to say, hey, part of it is my fault.

Interview

- These [language immersion] students are content. I find these people really content. I look at our Elderly people also and I find them content. Just socially content. They may not be the most economically rich people but there's a sense of contentment that I see when I talk to them; they are at peace. I always found them with a good sense of humour, and emotionally and psychologically balanced.

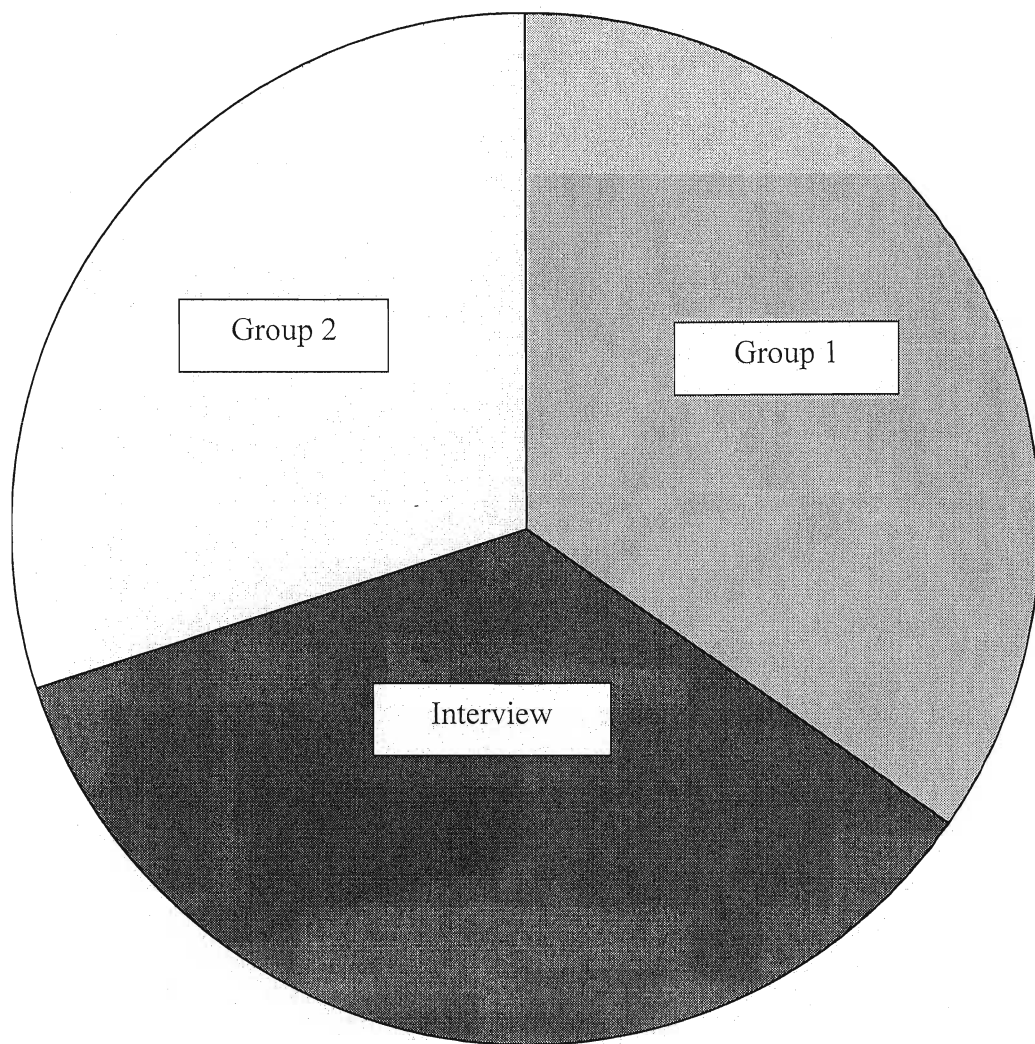


Figure 4. Relationships.

Focus Group 2

- As a learner you definitely want daily interaction and usage of the language.
Like not just hearing it but using it.
- That's where a lot of the resistance comes to learning the language because people think that if they learn it they'll lose the English part, their grammar or whatever.
- I automatically switch it because it's such complex conversations, it's big people conversations. But with little kids it's so easy. Every time I go around kids, my nephews, my brothers, my sisters, like I switch because I know they know and they'll answer me back. But when I get around big people like adults, then I'm like there's bigger words, there's more talking. I feel like I'm talking like a baby but at least I'm talking.
- I went around to talk to the old people. I had to do interviews. So I was able to talk to them. And just learning the protocols I was thinking about how when I'd go to these old people and talk to them, they didn't know who I was and I'd have to go through my family lineage for them to know who I was.
- I also see it as making that connection or understanding why I am the way that I am. What is it in the language or what is it that my grandmother knows that she passed to my dad that he passed down to me that makes me who I am.

This would be something that could passed down to the children to say this is where you come from and this is who you are and why, how you are what you are.

In connection with our vision for healthy communities is the idea that the relationship we have with ourselves is reflected in the relationships we have with others. That being said, the participants agreed that as individuals, we must each take ownership of the nature of the relationship we have with our self; that is to say, whether it is dysfunctional or healthy. Being disciplined, respectful, and unconditionally accepting of ourselves will also be reflected in our interactions with others. Language, with its embedded set of mores, values, beliefs, and traditions embodies who we are internally. It has been asserted by the participants that those individuals who embody the language are socially content and balanced individuals. Storying contributes to positive self-identity and intrapersonal relationships as the individual hearing the stories begins, over time, to internalize the principles and values contained within the stories. This too requires a socially conscious paradigm shift as we move forward from the impacts of colonialism on the internalized intergenerational social and relational dysfunctions still so prevalent in our communities.

Interpersonal

The disconnected relationships that we have with ourselves and others perpetuates the colonizing processes within our communities and contributes to ethnostress (see definition in Appendix A) and interracial behaviours that lead to societal dysfunction. Perhaps it is from this place of disconnection that resistance begins to manifest itself and vision begins to fall apart.

Focus Group 1

- I never lost my language because my parents promoted me to go and get my education but when we came home, we were back with our family, and we

conducted ourselves in the language. My brother and I had a fight but what I remember about that fight we did it in the language. We maintained our language even through fighting.

- I have one daughter and when she was born my dad said the speech to her and I can remember every word he said to her at that time.
- Language loss, well just look around in our community to see the events that take place and how it causes turmoil within our communities and conflict. I really believe that in language that we use it's so wholesome that it's able to wrap people and to hold them strong and to hold them with integrity. It reflects not only through that person but also through all of their relationships.
- Language, culture, religion is what binds us to being Onkwehonwe. It gives us an immense feeling of belonging. This is what gets instilled in us, our identity.
- We're going to be happy as long as we keep the culture and the longhouse ceremonies alive. Cause once that language is gone, so are the ceremonies. They have to be conducted in the language in order for the Creator to hear us. He doesn't understand when we're speaking English. So at night when you go to bed and you say your prayers it's all done in the language. First thing I wake up and give thanks that I woke up and I am fine and I hope I have a good day and I hope that everybody that I know has a good day.
- We have that admiration too for those elements and building those relationships and so it's not only for our own well being but also for the whole environment. If we had our language we wouldn't have the waste that we

have, the garbage that's in the community, the abuse in families, alcohol and drug abuse. Those values have to be instilled in our children and our grandchildren.

- The reason that greeting is important is because before your kids go out the door you make sure that they always have that invite back and when they come in the door, it's the first thing you do is say sge:noh (are you at peace?) and always have that smile on your face because that's so rewarding for all your children to come walking back in that door. Because you never know what the day brought. And always keep that open and when you come back you bring it back together.
- I made up this short little speech as an opening and today over 20 years later Oliver M. Smith and Gaweniio still say that same prayer every morning. They all go to the gym and say that same prayer and at the end of the day I made another little short prayer before...they all have to come together again and do a closing.
- People who are objecting to the revitalization of the language don't really understand our relationship with the land and what the language does. Language is fluid, it's ever flowing, it's ever moving, it's energizing it's just like our blood that flows, you know it's moving and everything moves within creation when we are a part of that process.
- A lady I know has been away for years, I think she said 1958 when she moved to Florida. I seen her here about a month ago at the cultural centre. She seen me came running over and right off the get go she spoke her language. We

conversed in Cayuga. She lives way out there with her sister and brother, so how does she maintain that? It must be between them that they're keeping this up.

- I had friends, I'd be talking in the language at that time and they'd answer me in English. The only one that always talked to me in the language was this lady here and we've been friends for years. She speaks Mohawk and I speak Cayuga. We converse and talk together and help each other. I have a cousin who speaks Onondaga. I can talk to her and she talks to me. We use our language.
- I had a great respect for Mr. Henry. It made me feel good to have him say I could speak. I knew I had so much to learn. It gives me the incentive to better my language skills.
- We have these Elders gathering at our place of work and we talk. We had a potluck lunch. Everybody brought something and shared.
- The students said to me, who do I speak to when I learn this language there's nobody to speak to at home. I said you can speak to me. That's one way you can keep me alive. Because I need you. I need you more than you need me cause if you don't speak then who am I gonna talk to. I am an old person. These kids they spoke so that they could talk to me.
- Treat your classroom kids the way you would your own child, you're going to have a darn good classroom.
- I don't think we should be criticizing them [our children] or saying, well you don't say that word right because that's what I thought you meant by language

shifting because if we went back say 200 years ago, we probably talk different than they said 200 years ago. So we shouldn't be so critical in how they speak. We should praise them; we should acknowledge them.

- If I can get these children to start learning it [ceremonies] at the younger age they won't be shy like I am. And they did, they really liked it and we did it like a play. They would take turns and we would use brooms and pails it was fun. And eventually they themselves became serious. They no longer made it fun, well it wasn't that, that's not the right word, they no longer made, I guess to them it got in here [pointing to her chest]. I know a lot of what you's are talking about. I saw when it went in here.

Interview

- In the 80s in this very room I brought in some Elders and we used to always have tea in here because Reg Henry was the father of our writing system for the Cayuga language. There was a lot of people who used to visit him here cause they knew he was employed here as a consultant and a writer. I had a lot of meetings with him privately cause I was green, I was wet behind the ears trying to figure out where we were going to go with this. We would all meet whenever someone came in. He would call me up and say do you want to come in and listen. You learn a lot by just listening and being in the room. They were all talking fluently and so I dared myself to ask them what they thought about recording verbatim ceremony and music. Over the next half hour they asked me more questions, more conversation. I said we could start recording whenever you gentlemen are ready. It's interesting now that of the

five there is only one left. We have all of that now banked. So people now are coming to borrow them. It's a national treasure. That's what I equate it to. It's our national treasure. And it's all banked. No other institution in the world has that collection.

- We can instil all of that [ceremonies] into the immersion system at maybe grade 11 and 12 level. So that these people when they're going to start making their own families can have an even a stronger grounding in their responsibility and their role, not only to their family and their children, but to their extended family, to the Nation, and then to the civilization.
- My parents instilled in me the Creator watches you whatever you do and He listens to you and He knows your every thought. What a great way to organize a society, or your children. You can't hide. He knows. He lives up there. So everything you do is to please him. You're not our children; you're His children. We are just a form that you came out of. In the language the correct way would be to say you're His child.
- They have to be workers; they can't just put my name out there and just let me just stand there. They have to be part of the whole process. I can't do this by myself so don't just let me hang. Its gotta be a whole team. The outcome is that is for the good of the people, you gotta keep thinking that.
- We're not included in the meetings sometimes because of our own reluctance to attend a meeting.

Focus Group 2

- I don't think our grandparents or our parents were trying to hurt us by not having us speak the language. They thought they were helping us to be able to get ahead in this world by saying English is the way to get ahead and when you go to school you're gonna speak English. That's gonna help you to be able to progress to a better level of living and stuff.
- Not at home. I suppose we should but we just don't. I guess that's something I would have to change too. I mean it's not like we haven't realized it ourselves, like we should be. But it's just more convenient to use English. It's easier; it's faster, especially like coming at this from being a learner. It's really frustrating and annoying to trip around what you are saying for 5 minutes when you can say it in 3 seconds in English. Because you want to be able to talk as good as any of the older people can.
- If we're talking in the language, we can't just go over to a store or go to this restaurant and they're gonna be speaking the language cause they don't. You don't hardly hear it and when you do, they just say hi and they're back to English. It's that daily interaction with it to keep it going with whatever language you're learning.
- They're fighting over the correct way to talk English. Never mind fighting about what's right in English. Fight about what's right about Cayuga, in Cayuga.
- We open and close the immersion class with that [Ganohonyohk – Thanksgiving Address]. That way we put parenthesis around what we've

done that day and we can wrap it up and say this is this day. Its never gonna happen again but we've done as good as we can do. Tomorrow we open it up again and close it.

- My oldest son is doing house construction and he got to a point where he decided at home all he speaks is Ojibwa to his family. He decided he was going to make a mark in the construction field by hiring only Ojibwa speakers and he told them on the job you speak only Ojibwa. He says when any of the long knives [non-Indigenous people] come up and want to talk we talk to him in Ojibwa. He either learns to talk Ojibwa or we don't talk to him. And you know some people have criticized him but he said you should hear their Ojibwa. When they started their Ojibwa was rusty and they are sharp as a knife now. They are talking darn good Ojibwa.

It appears from each of the participants that interpersonal relationships are a strong key component to language shifting and maintenance through privileging those languages in daily activities and social interactions. Language is again interconnected with notions of integrity, wholeness, completeness, balance, fluidity, and wellness. Language ties us or is the glue that holds our sense of identification and belonging to a culture-sharing group. Language and its related sets of mores, cultural values, and beliefs are embedded into all of our relationships as well as our social and spiritual interactions. It appears that the kinds of relationships we have with each other are reflected in the relationship we have with the Creator and vice versa. When we open and close our daily social interactions with an acknowledgement and thanksgiving to the Creator we are in

effect parenthesizing, or placing those occurrences within or bracketing them around spiritual interactions.

Language becomes the embodiment of those relationships in that language is organic and dynamic; its energy moves within us and connects us to all of creation so that we can have an understanding and grounding of our place and our responsibilities within the family, community, and civilization-at-large (nationally and globally).

I have heard Elders say many times that language must be learned from the heart. That is a phrase that has always captured me and I have always wondered what those Elders meant by that statement. I surmise that the Elders could have been referring to the Spirit, in other words, language cannot simply be learned cognitively but must be taken in through ones spirit. One of the participants, a retired teacher, discussed how through play and interactions with each other, the students learned ceremonies, and since the ceremonies can only be conducted in the language, the students also learned the language. It was a cognitive and physical learning experience whereby the students themselves took the interaction into their spiritual and emotional being thus creating a wholistic experience.

Relationships, developed through mutuality, respect, and trust provide the forum for intergenerational transmission of knowledge through the language. In this way we can work collectively toward the betterment of our communities in privileging and sustaining our languages. This cannot be achieved without a socially conscious paradigm shift in our interactions with ourselves first and subsequently with others.

National

If relationships are severed the resulting disconnection is difficult to rebuild.

Language loss creates a disconnect in all of the relationships associated with time, place, and biodiversity²² including all forms of ancestral and traditional knowledge.

Focus Group 1

- The school told me that we have to teach them the Thanksgiving Address. I didn't know how to do it and I went to longhouse all my life. So I went to my brother-in-law and asked him how did you learn that? He says you start here in the house; who's gathered, and there's the people; when you open the door what do you step on, its mother earth; and you keep on walking, what do you come to next, and so on, and so forth. And that's what I did when I taught my student the do the Ganohonyohk (Thanksgiving Address). We were lucky where we were we could even identify the water. The more we felt it, we could smell it, the more it come in here, went in here for our kids. And after a while they could say it and recite it. And they [students] understood, I didn't have to go into big detail, we seen it. We went right outside and laid on the ground. When we went up there and looked up to the heavens. What do you see? And to me, I think that's what the language is all about. It has to come back alive because it died somewhere now we need to make it come back alive. We need to do more things and we need to bring our young folks back together. We have to live it again like we did a long time ago.
- Another thing nobody is planting any more. Nobody has a garden anymore. We all run to the grocery store. Like this last time people would come up to

²²

This is to mean geo-identity, socio-identity, and spiritual identity.

me and say when are we gonna have our small green corn? Well I says is your corn ready? Oh I don't have any. We need to plant our corn that way we can tell when to have our green corn ceremony. All those things have reasons when they come due. The language is so important in our culture.

- Look at how many of us are in that longhouse, all the families. Why can't we adopt a row of corn that way it's not so overwhelming. You don't have this great big 5-acre field to hoe. But if you adopt a row it's your family's responsibility to hoe and keep the weeds out. At the end we can all go there and harvest all that corn that we sowed.
- We're all here for a reason and we all bring our stuff in here to help one another. That's how you get to be included, it's what you bring, it's your hard work that's the medicine, that's medicine that goes to all those people cause of how hard you worked in your garden to make it grow. That's how come they sent packages home with food from the longhouses. So that people who can't come, who aren't feeling good, that's their medicine.
- When you speak the language it travels through the air and people are in tuned to that and they are listening for it to be able to be engaged in that process, to be included. That's what language is, it's inclusive it's not separating. It engages people and they're woven into that process.
- Something happened that drove that wedge between that communication for our people and there's a fear there to be able to, or a shame, you know to talk about those things and we have to get past that.

Interview

- I believe that in order to have a quality of life some things need to be in place: a set of mores, and institutions, customs, spiritual systems, a ritual system, physical culture, and language. When I look now back at my own history of our people all of that was in place. As a civilization, as Onkweshonwe civilization in upper northeastern part of the continent we had that all in place.
- It's one of the tenets of our society and our spiritual belief is that we are not the judges; we can't judge you as long as you can live within these norms, mores and taboos. We also try to instill that you shouldn't criticize anyone else at the same time. We have several doctrines, and one of them is our ceremonies to give thanks and that also makes you part of the group. Then we have a moral code that helps shape who we are. Unfortunately now the difficulty is that it's all in the language and they frown upon translating into English because you lose some of the nuances of it. So I think that's even more important why they keep the language.
- I mean why do we all wanna come back to the land? I know so many people who have gotten education at Doctorate levels, Masters levels and then end up back on the reserve. They are equipped for high-powered positions elsewhere; what's bringing them back?
- Now they set up these district offices of Aboriginal Education. But see AMO hasn't met with them to ask them if they want to be a part of the success at Grand River [Gaweniio Immersion]. Instead of saying to the one particular

Board of Education we know 59% of our students are dropping out and looking at the social indices, saying we are a third world based just on that.

Focus Group 2

- Health Science Centre in Winnipeg called and said we've got a baby here and the baby is gonna die. Can you come and do last rites, end of life ceremonies for this baby? I ask them what Nation are the people from. They say they are Cree. There's a Cree Elder that I work with out there so I gave him a call. When we got there the minister had just baptized the baby. When we came near that baby, the Cree Elder that I work with is blind, I leaned over and I told him something's going on here. I said this baby's spirit is speaking to me and he doesn't want to leave. He says I'm feeling the same thing. We asked that young family, when this baby was born did any of you do a welcoming ceremony to welcome this baby in his language to welcome him to this world? They said we don't know anything about it; we don't follow our culture. So I pulled the Elder aside and I said, let's do a welcoming ceremony for this baby. He said okay, do you want to do it in Mohawk, or do you want me to do it in Cree. It's a Cree baby he's not gonna understand me. You do it in Cree, welcome him to stay here. Two months later I get a phone call from a young lady to come and pray over her baby. I looked him and I realized this baby is not a stranger. This is the baby that was supposed to die. The mother said to me, we called you do end of life ceremonies but as soon as you walked out of that intensive care unit the baby switched and all of a sudden the nurses several hours later said somethings going on here he's getting better. We told

her we have ceremonies we were given in the language to welcome a child cause when they come from the Creator's world to this earth. Well it's like for me if I go outside this door right now and you called us to come here tonight and we all go outside this door and we come and knock on the door and you don't welcome us in how long are we gonna stay there before we leave? Eventually we're gonna walk away and leave and say, well we knocked on the door, we were ready and willing to stay but she didn't welcome us in so we're gonna go home. Well that's the same thing that little baby was doing. That baby understood that language and I firmly believe to this day, because of his [the Elder] speaking Cree and doing that ceremony that baby's alive. So it's really the language meaning the difference between life and death.

- When I spent time with the Navahos in Arizona, someone asked them what's the main contributing factor to you guys walking away from your culture? They thought it would be alcohol or drugs; they said it was television. You go out in the desert and you see these little hogans and all of a sudden you see this humongous dish so that they can get cable television in this little hogan. Everybody sits up and the works not being done. They found abuse was being perpetuated even greater because there are channels on there that are not appropriate for families and children to watch. People begin to see that and act out on it. They found that television was the most detrimental thing that ever hit the Navaho Nation regarding the loss of culture.

- When I moved out here I always enjoyed coming out to Six Nations turning on CKRZ and hearing our social dance songs and the language classes. Seeing our symbols that mean something to us all over the place; that's home. That's home. When you cross the bridge up here and you realize I've left Canada and I'm back in Iroquoia. I'm back in my home community and it's good to be here.
- We needed to determine who was an Elder. If they can take us back to their creation story and describe that whole journey right up till today as good as they can, and have as much knowledge as they can, preferably in the language, that's a person we determine is a knowledgeable Elder. Someone that can do that work because the culture is with the language, the language is with the culture. The medicines are with language and with the culture and the songs are with the language; the culture and the medicines they all really work together and we're not part of this compartmentalized thing that the dominant society has placed upon us.
- Pierre Trudeau at one point in time with René Levesque made a statement that if you can no longer speak your languages or identify yourself as a people don't come to us asking for special rights and special treatment because you are no longer distinct, you will in fact have become Canadian.

If as a culture-sharing group our relationship to the language is broken or severed then we are also disconnected or separated from the culture, which is embodied and expressed through the language. It is asserted that when one dies, so does the other. Language and culture cannot exist separate from one another; they each exist in a

symbiotic relationship. We also exist as a culture-sharing group in a symbiotic relationship with our language and culture. The implications of the death of the language and culture of a particular culture-sharing group are evidenced in the disconnected and dysfunctional social and relational interactions that have been well documented in this and other communities across Turtle Island. We need to live our language and, like the Phoenix that rises out of its own ashes, bring our languages back to life.

As stated earlier, ceremonies cannot exist without the language. Through the language we learn what needs to occur so that our ceremonies can take place wherein we learn the moral code or high principles that govern our social and relational interactions. Having an understanding of our biodiversity (geo, social, and spiritual identity) is a key element in maintaining our languages through ceremonies. Each unique individual has a place (geo-identity) within the culture-sharing group and that geo-identity is a powerful drawing force. That place defines the individual's role and responsibility to the group (social-identity); in this way everyone fulfills their roles and responsibilities working for the betterment of the whole so that everyone works from their place of strength, the work is not overwhelming, and everyone benefits. This is the medicine that goes out to the community and community-at-large and contributes to the health and wellness of the culture-sharing group.

Again we see the notion of language as an organic energy or force that, as it is spoken, reaches out and engages the members of the culture-sharing group and weaves them into the tapestry of their collective story. We derive our spiritual identity from those forces that reach out to us and draw us into the story.

It has been stated by the participants that language embodies identity and belonging (citizenship), and if we take into ourselves a language then we are also taking in all of the values, beliefs, and principles embodied in that language (for better or worse) in order to take up citizenship with that language society. Can we effectively walk in two worlds? Can we be²³ bi/multilingual?

Global

Identity is about both knowledge and relationships. These two components are interrelated and very much dependent upon one another. It is crucial to learn about who you are as an individual and yet Indigenous knowledge also tells us that you cannot have a sense of identification apart from your relationship with others-communally, nationally, and globally.

Interview

- If you don't follow the moral code what can happen is that you are basically going to pull down the civilization. Then it talks about society as a whole, if we don't pay attention to our own biodiversity we as people are going to destroy the earth.
- We like to think of everything as a whole but sometimes we need to put pieces together so that people can understand the pieces and how it builds on each other.
- The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. They didn't sign it two weeks ago; they wouldn't sign it.

²³ To have reality, to exist, to belong. Also closely connected to notions of *I am* (e.g., I am Onkwehonwe).

- Because we're federally funded we used to be able to participate in their [Federal Government] pension plan. They put an end to it about three years ago. Now we have to pay the pension out of our core dollars. I said how did you feel when you had a Department of Indian Affairs person who probably has never ever set their foot on the reserve say to you, we can't fund your staff's pension anymore; but knowing their pension is going to be paid for. How sick is that? What, what's the reality of that, you know? How can they sleep at night?

Focus group 2

- Being at University there's so many people that came from their original countries. They would have their language. But there's so many second or third generation learners at University who could talk Italian and Spanish but since they were third generation they could talk English too. They live here and don't have any problem switching between the languages and using it with the cultural knowledge.
- Being multi-lingual is actually the standard in the world. It's when people can only talk one language that's the exception actually. It's more common for people to be able to talk two, three, or four languages than it is to be able to talk only one. That's what North America is weird for cause everybody only talks English really.
- Our way of doing business is what does your community need? Especially when we're caretakers of this land, we're looking after this first and not selling it off to a foreign interest. You begin to think in a seven generations

concept. What do I do that allows me to practice good business and allows for a sustainable future not only for me, but for everybody.

- The *National Geographic* magazine had this picture of an old woman and this young, he was only 2 or 3; they were in Mongolia. She could talk Mochung and her grandson could only talk Mongolian. It said that in his lifetime the language that his grandmother speaks would be extinct.

The moral code contained in the Code of Handsome Lake (see Thomas & Boyle, 1994) talks about our relationships with each other and our responsibility to maintain the high moral code that is necessary to promote a healthy civilization. Further, it talks about our responsibilities to Mother Earth and how to maintain that relationship, through positive interaction and seven generational thinking for the benefit of all our relations throughout the world. This code must be spoken in the language. There is great resistance to any form of translation because there are no English translations for some of the words and concepts. Translating the Code would mean that critical nuances would be lost altogether.

We need to be able to put all of the smaller pieces together to see and understand our place within the cosmos. My own graduate internship experience in Aotearoa epitomized that notion of place, identity, and belonging within a global perspective.

It seemed to be an important indicator that Canada refused to sign the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the message that such a refusal sent to other countries around the world about Canada's position on the rights of its Indigenous populations. It seemed that the message came across very loud and clear through the structure of the funding packages being delivered to community agencies.

Through some of the postsecondary educational experiences of the participants, they saw that multilingualism is the global norm and not the exception it appears to be in monolingual societies, such as Canada with its subtle English-only policies; and yes, I am aware that Canada has two “official” languages, English and French. However, with a few exceptions the majority of Canadians utilize English as the standard language of commerce across the Nation. All other languages, more particularly First Nations, Inuit, and Métis languages, have been designated minority language status thus officially devaluing their contribution in any meaningful way to society.

Knowledge

Relationships create the opportunity for collaborative and collective knowledge building. It is from this place that we are able to muster the call to action. Knowledge is placed at the western door of looking within and is guided by sage, which is used to prepare people for ceremonies and teachings by releasing what may be troubling the mind and removing negative energy.

I was surprised to find that Focus Groups 1 and 2, comprised of educators, researchers, and language learners did not place knowledge on a higher scale than they did (see Figure 5). The range between Focus Groups 1 and 2 were closer together, with the interviewee placing knowledge on a scale approximately 1.5 and 2.5 times higher respectively. Perhaps the disparity could be indicative of each group’s conceptualization and interpretation of knowledge and its connection to language. I have recounted the participants’ narratives in the same way they were told to me, with only very minor modifications for clarity, in order to privilege their respective knowledge and honour their stories.

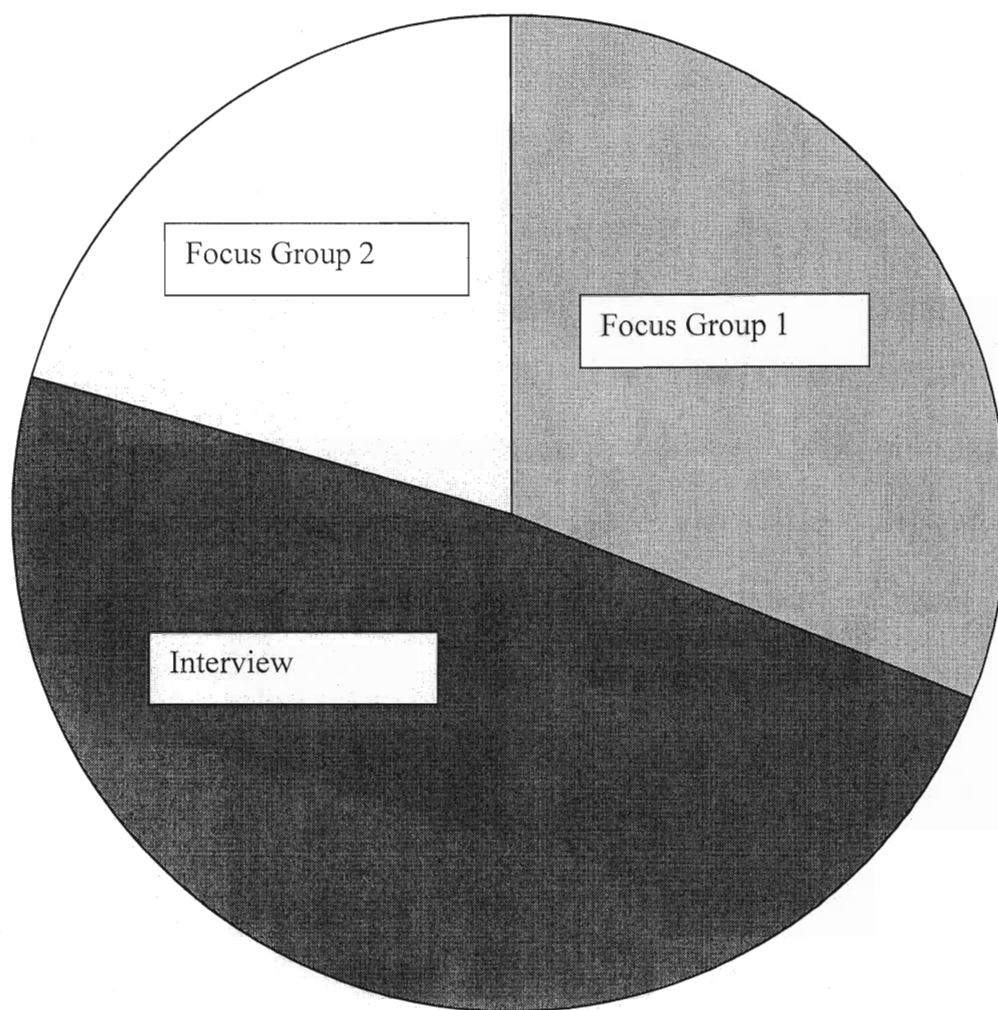


Figure 5. Knowledge.

Intrapersonal

Intrapersonal knowledge connects us with our sense of identity; who we are, our self-esteem, and how we think about ourselves through the lens of that knowledge.

Focus Group 1

- Fluency, I think when you are able to converse entirely in the language. Have humour, wit, and can describe situations. Also are knowledgeable in what they call the high language ceremonies that take place in the longhouse, these are the true speakers. There are people who are passively fluent. They can understand, but have difficulty conversing. I don't consider myself fluent because I have so much more to learn.
- He said why don't you go to school to be a language teacher. I looked at him, are you crazy? He said well you've been teaching me now for two years, why can't you do that? There's no reason why you can't. So that's how come I made my application.
- It made me feel good to have him say I could speak. I knew I had so much to learn. It gave me the incentive to better my language skills.
- So that's how I went to school and we had to learn how to write. We had these professors that were trying to teach us all about teaching school and the words that they were using, all of these highfalutin words.
- If I'm teaching school or if I am giving a talk someplace I try to make it as simple as I can so that everybody's going to understand. I guess I, even though I've gone through to school and I've gone as far as I wanna go I don't consider myself educated.

- To them [the children] it got in here [pointing to the heart]. I know a lot of what you are talking about. I saw when it went in here. They were proud, they, they wanted to do it.

Interview

- You identified yourself as being a Mohawk, or being from the Turtle Clan. It's very important, to a people no matter the nationality or the race to have those elements.
- You need to be confident who you are when you're a person of colour, whether its yellow, black, white, red. There are attributes that you need to have to be healthy. One of them is being able to say who you are, and to be proud of your heritage and your customs because those are what make you different in a healthy way.
- I've gone to university college among non-native people and they're not talking about the fact that you're equal to us they wanna know what makes you different. You have to have pride in that. But if you can't say what makes you different, then you're stuck. I think that's where a lot of people are struggling right now.
- If you can instill that early in a student's make up, social make up, like you can through language instruction, that's very important.

Focus Group 2

- That's where a lot of the resistance comes to learning the language, because people think that if they learn it they'll lose the English part, their grammar or whatever.

- Today on the test to ask me in Mohawk I'd respond in Mohawk and I thought that was good. Then when he asked me in Mohawk to say something in English; to translate a Mohawk word into English. We don't do that in class every day so I felt initially that I didn't do good on the test. But then I thought, no wait, that's good that I did what I was able to do within Mohawk. That means that it's in here [pointing to her heart] it's changing my mindset the way I was thinking. So it made me feel better about myself,
- The other major [effect of language loss] would be identity because there would be nothing to identify with. You could say, I have brown skin or I have dark hair but so what? There are people in South America who are like that too. If that's all you have that sets you apart from someone that lives in Caledonia what's the difference? I think that's one of the main, probably the thing that would go is your sense of identity. Because what else is going to set you apart if you can't talk [in the language]?

The prevalent theme threaded throughout the discourse from all of the participants was identity and how that identity is established and reinforced through the language. It is the language that identifies individuals as belonging to a particular culture-sharing group. This internalized knowledge contributes to a positive and healthy sense of self and is tied into notions of fluency and education.

In one particular instance a participant expressed strong emotions around a classroom experience where her sense of self was diminished and devalued even though she had come into the learning environment with prior teaching experience. That image of a diminished self was encapsulated in the statement "I don't consider myself educated"

and yet this participant is, according to her peers and within the community, considered to be very knowledgeable. Having met and talked with her I unequivocally consider her to be an educated woman. There appears to be a disparity between the interpretation of education for the sole sake of cognitive development and/or satisfaction and education that embraces the spirit and heart of the individual, as well, how that connects to the conceptualization of identity.

This appears to be an area of resistance and struggle for individuals both from within and outside the community; that is to say, the idea that you cannot be equally fluent in both languages and by extension cultures, or that in acquiring the First language an individual somehow digresses cognitively.

Interpersonal

Storying is an active form of collective knowledge sharing and building that rises out of a vision for a well-balanced sense of identity, kinship ties, and strong well-connected interpersonal relationships. Storying was difficult to tease out of the codes in order to generate meaning from the stories that at first glance seemed to deviate from the subject matter. Thus, storying was not identified to have a code of its own but rather was a diaphanous thread weaving its way through each of the themes.

Focus Group 1

- It's the high language that we have to interpret. Sometimes it takes her and I several days, if not longer to come to a proper transfer of a word into English; sometimes we can't even find a word that will describe or say what we're saying in Cayuga or Mohawk or have it put into English. Can't do that, it just

doesn't just come out. So those are some of the things...and I am very strong in the language.

- To be educated you should have an understanding of all things in your environment. Your culture, religion, language, and a broad scope of the world and other people. It doesn't just mean academics.
- I consider myself educated in the language and our culture. They're enmeshed. Your language, your traditions, and your culture. They're all like this in your culture. They're all like this. You can't have one without the other. And the minute you lose your language so goes those two other things. They're going to go out the door too. That's how important your language is. And this is the point that we can't get across and a lot of people will say to us. We are teaching about prophecies and what's going to happen to the world when it's going to end and we were talking about that and they said that we're trying to scare people and it's not true. We've come that conclusion if we won't tell them now, who's going to be left to do it? Because every time somebody dies they are taking all their knowledge that was given to them by their ancestors. That's what we won't have.
- That's where we're at now. We have these Elders gathering at our place of work and we talk. We do just what we're doing now but it's mostly in the language and we're pulling things, trying to explain and we're recording it so that we can leave it for the people to know what these things means when they're doing Gaiwí:yo and they're speaking in the language and what do they mean by that. And there's some words in that speech, Gaiwí:yo, that you

can't translate and the people that could help us are no longer here. And that's the sad part. I'll probably continue on the way I am and I have a hard time sometimes because it's really in here [pointing to her heart]. The language, culture, and religion that was instilled in me by my parents, grandparents, and other knowledgeable people. That's what I call Elders. For what I know I would like to be able to give that to my family. All this stuff I feel and maybe because I'm getting close to the end of my time on this earth, I don't know how long I'm gonna have.

- What's going to happen to our people? What's going to happen to our grandchildren and their children? That's the part that scares me. Even now kids, the little ones, you hear them running around and they're just talking English. What's going to happen to them? They, they don't talk Indian and yet it's been proven that if you don't talk your language you really can't stay up there because that's all they talk. This lady had a dream where her granddaughter or grandson came back. In this dream she says, I thought you went to heaven? He says I did. She says, why didn't you stay? He says because it's lonesome up there cause nobody'll talk to me, nobody understands what I'm saying. And he looked at her and said, why didn't you teach me my language? He says I'm never going to be happy up there cause I can't understand people. So that's the story and I've told that to the kids too.
- Even when I was teaching them [the children] and a lot of people said you are not supposed to teach children these ceremonies in the longhouse. And I

thought it was just small things, stirring the ashes, the men's chant and I thought if you get them to, in the mode to, to not be shy.

- Things are changing and the only place that I knew I could help these children was when I was teaching them in the school. And I know about school, it doesn't belong to us. But I wanted to turn it around and make it so that what the school took away from us, the school would give it back.
- I've been involved in language projects and there were on occasions people who didn't fit mainstream, I guess, standards in regard to education, but yet you put them in a language class and [clap hands] they just excel. There must be some part of your brain that retains that language.
- I made up this short little speech as an opening and today after 20, over 20 some years later they [the schools] still say that same prayer every morning. They all go the gym and say that same prayer and at the end of the day I made another little short prayer where they all have together again and do a closing. It's really simple and I think it protects you because the Four Beings²⁴ come close and can hover around; it seems that they even help us with our thinking and they said that their arms reach out and if there is some danger coming to us they can help us and eliminate that. That's why it's so important because in all our ceremonies that's the one thing all our kids should learn that right from Kindergarten right through when they graduate. That speech, there's a short one and gets a little bit longer and the last one is really a long one. And I think that should be mandatory when you graduate maybe high school or

²⁴ The four sacred celestial beings called the Sky Dwellers. They were commissioned by the Creator to be His helpers/messengers (<http://www.fourdirectionsteachings.com/transcripts/mohawk.html>).

college or whatever that you should have that and because that's one of the important things that we do in our ceremonies.

- My uncle used to say, that's what guides us and keeps us strong. And he says when you know that you can pull a lot of knowledge from that [ceremony]. There's a lot of knowledge in that speech. He says, you can use your thinking skill to decipher what it means to you.
- I think that sago and those greeting words are telling a whole story that we're supposed to understand and to agree to that but you know they think it's just like a simple greeting like saying hello. Education to me is like, maybe I view education differently from the way that you view education because I think our way of life is an education in itself. I can't see any other way to say it but that it creates balance and harmony in a community, and also it creates the communication that's been missing.
- There needs to be more education on the culture and there needs to be more historical information about who we are as a people so you know, so that we can begin to look at those and to understand and to know where we are today, how we got here, and where are we gonna go from here. You know there's a lot of information that our old people can tell us. You have to read in between the lines because there's a lot of things they don't wanna say, like people from residential school, what they went through.
- My mom told me you go there and listen. You bring one word home she said and we'll learn from that and we'll talk about that. That's how I learned.

- I told my kids [class] to bring in great big cans, dirt, and we planted potatoes. You know the kids couldn't get over it, they never seen it when they pulled this plant up and all the potatoes that was hanging from this plant. I said one potato can give you all these potatoes back. That's what they need to see. This is how you teach language.
- Language comes alive when you show them. That's what they call emergent. You're doing it and you're speaking to it. That's what we gotta do with our young kids. Even their adult program I bet you they could benefit by that, by doing all those things. Language has to be everything. We have books at our work now where we did corn, skinning a deer, fishing, we got all kinds of stuff, but in order to implement that book you have to go into the field.
- I myself don't see a language program as being, you know, you have to be a teacher to take a language program. It would be great if they all wanted to be teachers but we're not all going to be teachers. There are organizations that are realizing that it's [language] important and it's going to help us as a whole community not just raising a bunch of teachers.

Interview

- For now the difficulty is that, it's [the Code of Handsome Lake] all in the language and they frown upon translating into English because you lose all the nuances of it. That's why we are struggling to keep the language because of all of those nuances that are there, the hidden meanings and interpretation of the old tenents.

- We have all the verbatim recording of ceremony and music banked now. They [Reg Henry and colleagues] got so into it that they had private collections of some of these ceremonies or aspects of them. So they brought those in and we just put them right into the recording so that all the ceremonies have an agenda. It's organized. It's not just haphazard. It's an organized agenda what has to happen. Its catalogued by the calendar year of what ceremony is coming up next. People now are coming to borrow them. It's a national treasure. That's what I equate it to. It's our national treasure. And it's all banked. No other institution in the world has that collection.
- We've captured it [funeral ceremony] verbatim and then we've translated and transcribed it. So that people will understand what's being said. So they can find the beauty in it. It's hard to find the beauty in it when you just go and see it and you don't understand what's going on. So when you do it in English and in the language then they understand the emotion of the cadence of it, how you deliver it, the pacing of it, the rhythm, and how important that is as opposed to other orations, just that nuance.
- They go to longhouse funerals they don't understand the language. You see all these people moving around, they don't understand what that means and what that's supposed to signify or represent. We can instill all of that into the immersion system at maybe grade 11 and 12 level. So that these people when they're going to start making their own families can have a stronger grounding in their responsibility and their role, to not only their family and their children, but to their extended family, to the Nation, and then to the civilization.

Focus Group 2

- I had to learn it when I went to Manitoba because my in-laws spoke no English. They spoke only Ojibwa and so I had to learn it. I spent 5 years living on the reserve there and could speak pretty darn good Ojibwa. And I find our languages so complex and, but that's the beauty of it. Instead of saying words that can be interpreted generically our languages are extremely specific about who you are talking to, and how you are talking to that person.
- I think the native language is very descriptive. When we talk about the months, every month talks about the frogs croaking, or the really cold, or the extra heavy coats. What do we [English dominant society] think about when we think of January? We don't think of anything descriptive it's just a word. So with the language there is descriptive that goes with it that teaches you a lot more than just saying January, February, or March.
- It [language] tells you a lot about how they looked at the world. In terms of education that probably makes it hard too if you want to reestablish the language because there is so much culture in there [the language] that it's not just a way to communicate. Because it [language] does contain all those things about the culture too, it's not just a way to talk about these bottles sitting here because there's so many things that are specific to the culture and the language itself. So even in English if you said oh he kicked the bucket, well we all know what that means, but it doesn't literally mean he kicked a bucket. So it's the same thing in Cayuga it's going to have its own sort of things that are very specific to Cayuga that would come from the culture.

That's another thing that makes it hard for people to learn because not many people have the culture either at the same time and you do need a little bit of knowledge at least to be able to effectively use the language.

- Language reflects the culture and the culture is a reflection of the language. Language is the reflection of the culture. If the language is lost, there are things about the culture that you can't get back either. I mean you can read, and read, and read about these things that they studied about us in English but that doesn't tell you anything about the way the language described it or how the language was used in those situations either. So that's a whole other side of what's lost because you can't do longhouse in English. Some of us were saying you can't, you just can't, there's no way; it wouldn't be the same. It would have a whole different meaning.
- We finally determined that we need someone that can do that work because the culture is with the language; the language is with the culture. The medicines are with the language and with the culture and the songs are with the language, the culture, and the medicines all work together; we're not part of this compartmentalized thing that the dominant society has placed upon us; they were always to pigeonhole the way they do things. We looked at talking about life and what is involved in life. It all comes from the language and understanding who we are, where we came from, where we are now, where we want to go, and using the culture as a vehicle to get us there.
- One Elder told me that the end of the world is gonna come when we no longer have a person who gets up in the morning and says the Thanksgiving. When

there's no one who speaks the language that's the day the Creator will say, you've neglected the gift, today's the day it's done.

- I see it [taped conversations between her Grandmother, Dad, and Aunties], not so much to study but just to have it say this is our language, our identity, and our culture. Because I also see it as making that connection or understanding why I am the way that I am. What is it in the language or what is it that my grandmother knows that she passed to my dad that he passed down to me that makes me who I am. This would be something that could be passed down to the children to say this is where you come from; this is who you are and why, and how you are what you are.
- I noticed how much she kept saying know, know, know, my grandmother knows this and she knows this. One of the biggest things that would disappear if the language died is that knowledge like the family history that could only be related through the language. It's all well and good to do it in English but there's things that you could only get across when you use the language. But it's not just about that it's also about the actual culture. It would be possible to have the language continue without the culture but it would be empty because you would lose so much information, like knowledge that could have been transferred. I'm just thinking about people I know, like older men and how much they know and how much they've been told that was all in the language. When they die, that's it, it goes with them and no one can ever get that back. There's still people around who can talk

[in the language] and yet don't know the cultural side of it, they don't have the knowledge that they could have had it been transferred from the older people.

- I like the way Jake [Thomas] put it one time when we were talking, he said a person who speaks should be able to stand on your feet without any type of book or anything and speak. That's a true speaker. To say what's on your mind and to communicate that to everyone. That's the way it should be.
- As a learner myself it's a lot easier to write something down because you have time to think about it, but when you're talking you have to talk as fast as you're thinking. And you have to trip over all the thinking of how to say something and it doesn't come out as fast as I'm talking English right now. I would never, could never talk this fast in Cayuga.
- You have to get it out. You can think it but you still have to get it out. That's what I'm doing in class all day long. I have to take big deep breath and just try it again because it's right there; I just can't get it out fast enough to tell someone to stop doing that and do it with a good mind.
- That really is being able to think in the language too, right. Not thinking in English and trying to talk Mohawk. It's thinking in Mohawk and then talking Mohawk.

The threads emerging out of this particular dialogue surrounded notions of interconnectedness, whether spiritually or socially, around issues of education, intergenerational transmission of knowledge, and identity.

The participants agreed that education as it is defined by the current education system is a Eurocentric construct and cannot be applied to this community that interprets

the idea that to be educated means that you are extremely knowledgeable in the language, culture, traditions, and ceremonies. The participants discussed the reclamation and reconstruction of those educational spaces through the use of cultural, ceremonial, and intergenerational transmission of ancestral knowledge, which has been deemed inseparable from the language. One participant labelled this mode of education as emergent, that is to say, arising out of the language. Education in and through the language and culture promotes individual and social identity. It appears to be that that is what being educated in heart and spirit means.

This notion is further articulated in one particular story concerning a small child who had died and subsequently came back to see his or her grandmother saddened because she/he was not taught the language. The child felt disconnected from the spiritual relationships because he/she did not have the ability to communicate. The child belonged in neither world. This story has principles for this reality as well.

Some of the participants in this study have been accused of being naysayers and depictees of doom because they are being direct in their assertions regarding the high cost attached to the loss of this community's languages. The lack of receptivity and demonstrations of outright resistance around issues of language shifting and the intergenerational transmission of ancestral knowledge is emotionally and spiritually painful for these participants. These participants, through their many individual and collective experiences, can see that the interconnected implications of apathy and resistance are and continue to be centred around language loss issues. Nevertheless some organizations are beginning to emerge out of the apathetic resistance to see that language

is important for the well-being of the community as a whole and not just for a few individuals who are looking to become teachers.

One participant discussed how a group of Elders had come together to record a collection of ceremonies that had been recreated with all of the related physical, material, and spiritual elements. It was termed a National Treasure. That particular term denotes a sense of immense value that is attached to something irreplaceable and priceless. In my view, that is the socially conscious paradigm shift necessary to privilege and give primacy and centrality to our languages.

As stated throughout this document, language is more than a method of communication, it represents an intergeneration transmission of an epistemic legacy and ancestral knowledge system. Bilingualism and, by extension, biculturalism is deemed to be a necessary pursuit in any education system for this community.

National

If collective and collaborative knowledge building is indeed the call to action then from a national perspective it is also the place from which to bring the national perspective together in a unified call to action that speaks of the vast demographical voice that demands change from an otherwise indifferent government.

Focus Group 1

- We know how important language is, how important our children are, and the different things we value help make us who we are and help make who the community is. But it's extremely hard to translate to mainstream to say why is our language important.

- There are a lot of people in this community who can translate that because they're educated and they can be creative about how to get that money. Just because you have a set of laws that you have to comply with through the government with funding. Why can't our people be creative instead of them falling into that role of having to satisfy the government. They should satisfy our people first by being creative in how to manipulate, because that's what the government understands is manipulation. There's people who are educated who can do that, who can turn those words around so that we can do language, we can do, and show, we don't have to tell them it's important to us. They know it that's why they took it away from us. So you know you can be creative and access money and report to the government this is what we're doing.

Interview

- We evolved into having Nations; that comes with its own trappings, a judicial system, and land rights, even though it was a very basic land rights policy. What drives and governs that is the intellect and the intelligences. I believe the Onkwehonwe civilization had a series of intelligences, artistic, spiritual, social, and emotional. All of that was in place for the environment that they lived in. I think, had it not been basically under attack, it would have evolved. The social glue keeping all of those elements together is the language; that's where it's all transferred through. The church disrupted that bond, that glue [language] gave us to support the civilization. It had its own sense of nationalism.

- Young people are educated. They learned about civil disobedience. That's the one thing that's not getting in the press that one side, that point.
- We have a civilization and it has a psychology, a sociology, even a biodiversity, and medicines and all of that. It was all in place and it was all in tune until contact.
- There has to be a paradigm shift in the lexicon of our people. We had a civilization with a society and a culture. We don't just have a culture; it's a civilization. And, that's why anything that I say now, or I speak publicly I will be talking in terms of civilization. That civilization has evolved, its bi-cultural or bi-civilized. We maintain our own civilization and add the dominant one as well with all of its trappings. My struggle now is to equip our young people with that. The Charter of Rights guarantees it so why not exercise it.
- I go back to my own childhood and knowing that I was under attack socially by the government, its English stream education regime.
- We learn about Dick and Jane, Puff and Spot, the white picket fence, the pool and that that's what you need to have a quality of life. Very hollow, as far as I'm concerned. That's how North Americans educate our students. We aspire and we encourage intellectual intelligence but none of the other intelligences.
- I went through an education system on the reserve, English only, that did not give pride to our languages nor to my spirituality which was looked at as being intolerable, that it was backward and had shades of witchcraft and all

that stuff. They used those kinds of terms to instill in us that that's why you shouldn't participate anymore.

- When I went to school it was all English speaking teachers. Even the people who were from the community who had gone on and become educated to teach. Because they had also gone through the English stream and didn't have the language to be able to come back and teach it in the classroom. They had to teach in English. At most we could do some projects about who we were and how we lived on the Grand River, but they didn't have the language component. It basically it was frowned upon, it was outlawed, you couldn't have language instruction until the 70s.
- We now know that our language has a social intelligence, it talks about how we live together; it has an emotional intelligence, it talks about heartache, love, and apathy. There's an artistic intelligence because we still teach our music and we still allow our young people to dance regardless of their gender, which North American society does not encourage.
- At Gaweniio the drop out rate is less than 1% from 9-12 or kindergarten to 12. After graduation less than 1% are on social assistance. Now if you look at the big picture, what you want for your civilization, that's very good. Most have gone on to postsecondary school. And the rest are employment or self-employed. The Department of Indian Affairs doesn't see that. They claim to pour billions of dollars into education, yet the drop out rate is horrendous; the suicide rate is horrendous. So those social indicators [Gaweniio], if anything that says we're on the right track. So these people [Gaweniio graduates] are

bilingual and bicultural. Their civilization is going to be a lot different than mine was.

- One particular Board of Education is doing a study where our students are dropping out at 59%. Somebody else told me it's worse at another district School Board. To me that's sick, that is so sick. What's wrong with this picture?
- In the education process, in both worlds you can become bilingual; bilingual and bicivilized. Somebody asked whether, if I thought Nation and civilization were interchangeable word or phrase. I said no.
- Social education, we learn about tradition, ceremony and ritual privately. We can instruct each other and can use whatever media to do that. You know, it's that we never had the opportunity because it was forced underground or we didn't quite know how to manage it or master. You could have an Ipod with ceremonies going through your ear privately. You can hear and learn the cadence and the phrasing and the meanings of it. If you're given the opportunity to stand up publicly you can and without those things, because that's how we do it.
- With the task force I learned how big this country is and that we're not the same. As much as they use race to say you guys are all the same. You get the Métis saying no, we're not the same as the First Nations, and the Inuit are saying we're not the same as them either. I don't think like an Ojibwa person and I don't think like a Cree person. The environment you're in that's what shapes you.

Focus Group 2

- It's funny now how many little kids can say words and words in Spanish because of Dora but they can't say words in their own native language. They can talk English and Spanish but Cayuga? And that's from TV.
- He [his son] hires only these guys [who can speak Ojibwa] and says we speak Ojibwa. He says the white people come up and want to talk, we talk to him in Ojibwa. He either learns to talk Ojibwa or we don't talk to him. And you know some people have criticized him but he said hey, these guys you should hear their Ojibwa. When they started their Ojibwa was rusty and they are sharp as a knife now.
- We found at the university that one of the things I stressed with the students coming into the institution who are bringing in their cultural ethics and cultural values, as they sat under the hand of these white university professors whose idea of operating [business] is that you cut off all your resources, cut down all your trees, and your fish and you sell them to a foreign country and you make the most money, whereas our way of doing business is what does your community need?

These participants began to consider what is going on across the country with respect to language and education. Further, how does one interact with a government whose epistemic reality is in conflict with our own?

Some of the participants articulated that individual community members who are gifted and educated in the area of word crafting could utilize their skills in creating funding documents to secure funding for language initiatives couched in text and

formatting that is palatable to the government. These individuals would, in effect, be considered bi-epistemic, that is to say they can function effectively in both worlds.

One participant stated that language is the social adhesive that contains and maintains all of the elements of a civilization. It is through the language that those elements are transmitted. This then creates a sense of nationalism, which can be interpreted as the desire of a culture-sharing group to preserve its language(s) that can also be extended and expressed across Turtle Island.

There was a great deal of discussion around civilization, nationalism, the Canadian Charter of Rights and its expression of freedoms and rights. Although the argument could be made that if Indigenous people within the country of Canada do not consider themselves Canadian citizens, can they claim rights under the Charter, especially since the only provision that was made for Indigenous people within the Charter is the very ambiguous Section 25? Perhaps a revised definition of citizenship with its related rights and privileges will need to be created in consultation with other Indigenous culture-sharing groups across Canada and presented to the federal government.

The English-only education system was a topic of discussion with regard to the legislation outlawing the use of Indigenous languages in the school system. The English-only education system perpetuated and imposed its own definitions and interpretations of a particular and foreign epistemic reality, even among the community teachers who had been taught how to teach and interact with students through the epistemic lens of a foreign system of education.

It was noted that Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), while claiming to pour large sums of money into Aboriginal education, is doing so through a flawed education system that is systematically perpetuating the low achievement levels and high drop out rates of its Aboriginal students, while ignoring a very successful community immersion school that reports a drop out rate of less than 1%. Bi-culturalism and bi-lingualism are seen as desirable qualities of achievement.

Global

The United Nations' Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was the rallying cry to the various governments throughout the world to determine how they view the Indigenous peoples of their respective countries. How each country responded provided a visual imagery of how the Indigenous people and their issues were treated. This form of collaborative and collective knowledge building provides the space where Indigenous people from across the world can come together and collectively build on each other's knowledge base. In this way Indigenous people who are networked and connected to all their relations around the world can stand together, arm and arm, to herald the call to action.

Interview

- The United Nations' Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. They didn't sign it 2 weeks ago; they wouldn't sign it.
- I go off to college and university and I start reading more and more about the world and you start bringing some of that back and examining your traditions. I get in this role and start to compare qualities of life, looking at what's missing out of the North American society, and then I start looking at mine

and say we have this civilization. We learned about Greek civilizations, we learned about Roman civilization, we had it too.

- But now as we start to learn more about, read about, and think about these issues we're starting to name it, to put things on a hanger and say this is what that is, and this is what this is in our closets.
- There's a lot to be said for being civilly disobedient in this country. The Quebecois have done it very well and are very organized to get what they want for their French language in their society so, mirroring that, sometimes you have to learn about other societies, to see how they did it. They did it in South Africa and in India.

The refusal of Canada to sign the United Nations' Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples has an impact on the perception of Canada's relationship with the Indigenous people who reside in Canada.

Postsecondary education exposes individuals to a more global perspective whereby we can examine ourselves through the lens of and in comparison to other countries and civilizations. Rather than being subtractive, this global perspective allows us to be able to think about and to name our own epistemic reality rather than having it represented back to us by an epistemological reality that is in conflict with our own.

Action

Action is a constant, consistent, dynamic, and sustainable process that must be measurable in order to assess the degree of success of the initial vision. Action, which rises out of the north, must be guided by wisdom and is represented by cedar, the medicine of restoration, healing, and it therefore also represents decolonization. Cedar

crackles when placed in the fire with tobacco (the medicine representing visioning), thus calling the attention of the spirits to the offering. The outcome of action leads to a renewed and expanded vision in an iterative process.

It is clear from Figure 6 that not all of the sessions articulated action in the same manner. Focus Group 2 comprised of students had a more difficult time voicing what kinds of action needed to occur than either Focus Group 1 or the one-on-one interview that included seasoned language speakers, educators, and researchers. I have recounted the participants' narratives in the same way they were told to me, with only very minor modifications for clarity, in order to privilege their respective knowledge and honour their stories.

Intrapersonal

As noted in Figure 2 this is the place of illumination from which we assess what we as individuals can do within ourselves to contribute to, promote, and use language.

Focus Group 1

- There are only a certain number of old people who are there maintaining their language and trying to learn it and sometimes the younger ones aren't.
- If you really want the language you can get it back as an adult and go to school and speak it. I always said, if you learn one word a day, you have learned 365 words in a year and with that you can start putting things together by listening. That's what you've got to learn is to listen real well.
- Sometimes we are fast to blame something else for our predicaments. I think we have to start learning to say, hey, part of it is my fault. I used a lady yesterday as an example, I know she's been away for years, I think she said

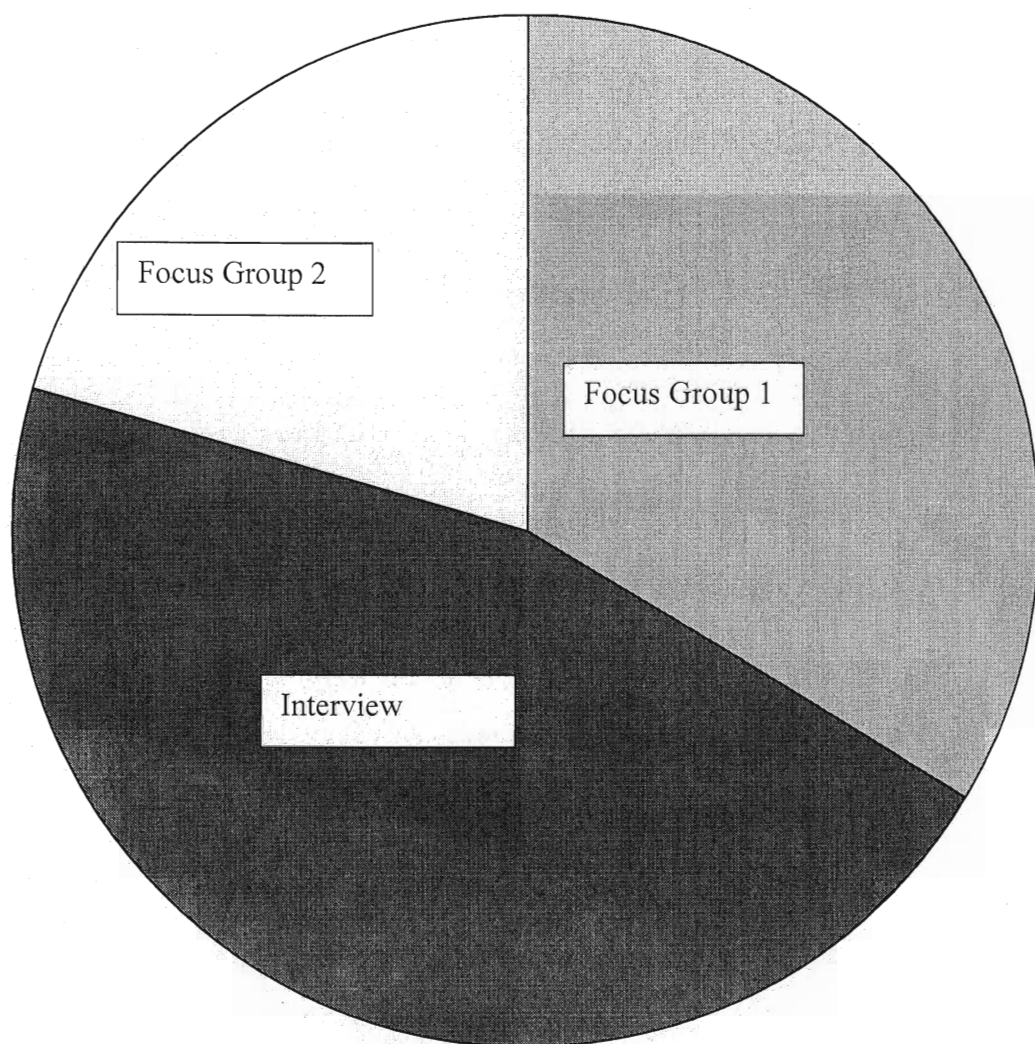


Figure 6. Action.

1958 and she moved, she moved to Florida. I seen her here about a month ago at the cultural centre. She just happened to come over there and she seen me. She came running over and she was so happy to see me, but right off the get go she spoke her language. Everything was in her language, all in Cayuga, we conversed in that language, and yet she lives way out there. So how does she maintain that? I haven't had a chance to ask her. She's back and it's like she never left. She's continuing on so that's what you can do.

- I went to all kinds of schools and I managed to keep my language. There's only one regret I have. I have one daughter and at the time she was born, I brought her home, my dad said the speech to her and I can remember every word he said to her at that time. After I said, Dad I really appreciate what you did and you know something? Keep it up; keep talking to her in the language so that she'll learn. It's so easy, and I am just as guilty, today she'll say to me, why didn't you keep it up? When you have that knowledge and you can do that. I said because I followed the flow and at the time it was almost like it was a disgrace to speak your language at that time.
- I have a cousin who speaks Onondaga. I can talk to her and she talks to me. We use our language. The only one I have trouble with is Tuscarora. So, you can do that. But you have to want to.
- What we have to do is erase all these feelings of people looking down on us because we speak our language. We have to get over that in order to do that, and young folks sometimes they're learning the language. I know they're learning. I'll see them someplace and there I am speaking the language and

they look at me like I got two heads and they answer me in English and that really sometimes hurts me.

- I'll probably continue on the way I am and I have a hard time sometimes because it's really in here [pointing to her heart]. Language, culture, and religion that was instilled in me by my parents, grandparents, and other knowledgeable people, who I call Elders. What I know I would like to be able to give to my family. All this stuff I feel, maybe because it's, I'm getting close to the end of my time on this earth, I don't know how long I'm gonna have.
- Through language and through our culture we can nurture our children. We could start that tomorrow, it's never too late.

Interview

- You could run around using Ipods with ceremony going through your ear privately. So you just hear the cadence, you learn the cadence and the phrasing and the meanings of it. But if you're given the opportunity to stand up publicly you can and without those things. Because that's how we do it. And when you think about it, that's how education is, it's a private study. Because all of that stuff leads you to become a leader.
- We've had language conferences where we've brought in bilingual students from immersion settings addressing a group of 300 people just talking about what it is to be.

Focus Group 2

- It might be frustrating and annoying to not know what you're saying and to struggle when you're using Indian but how else are you gonna get better at it. There's no other way but to use it and starting out anything new you're not gonna be good at it. When you first start you have to practice and practice.
- It is very difficult and so a lot of people get excited and once they start and they get into it part way, they say oh this is way too hard.
- What I'm saying is if you were to try to learn Spanish, it would be easier to pick it up and you wouldn't be as frustrated than you would be to try to learn Cayuga or Mohawk because it's much more complicated, complex; but that shouldn't hold you back either.

The theme threaded throughout this dialogue was the personal determination and commitment to make language a priority and being proactive in taking responsibility for where we are individually with respect to language. What was seen to be necessary for this to be successful was for the individual to create short, medium, and long-term goals that are measurable.

What seems to be apparent is a generational gap between those who are interested in language issues and those who are not. Also, educational pursuits or moving away from the language community are not seen as valid arguments for not maintaining language. It also appears that there is a leapfrogging syndrome in the transmission of language wherein the grandparents are speaking to the grandchildren through the ceremonial use of language after having bypassed their own children. It was also

mentioned several times that children are the key in sustaining language revitalization and that we can begin immediately by nurturing our own children through the language.

As individuals we can also make use of technology to assist us in learning and sustaining the language whereby learning the language becomes a part of an individual's lifestyle, which in turn builds confidence and leadership. Leadership in this context does not necessarily mean position within the community or organization but instead also denotes role modeling, demonstrating how to proceed or to accomplish something, creating the path for others to follow, and/or going before others to show the clear path or direction to some desired goal.

It is clear from the dialogue that a conscious paradigmatic shift is necessary for individuals to move beyond the hurt, shame, stigma, and the mindset that it is simply too frustratingly difficult, which have all been attached to language issues.

Interpersonal

This is the place from which we work with others and Creation in a bond of trust that serves the greater good of our families and communities.

Focus Group 1

- We are a part of our past and we have to bring that past with us into the present and we have to pass that on to the future. That's only how we are going to be able to survive because we have a responsibility with the earth and all of that. That was our responsibility and our assignment. Those values have to be instilled in our children and our grandchildren, even people who are objecting to at this moment to the revitalization of the language and they don't

really understand our relationship with the land and you know what the language does.

- When I was 11 years old I moved to the States where I finished school but I never lost my language because my parents promoted me to go and get my education but when we came home, we were back with our family. We conducted ourselves in the language.
- One of those things that always, always gets overlooked whenever anyone is talking about things that the community is doing in relation to language is that our board was one of the very first ones who realized that this was such an important thing. We set money aside for language revitalization and have been working on it for 8 years now. We made it a priority in regard to a strategy and how are we going to assist in what we can do to help this community revitalize and make our languages stronger. Setting up programs, doing research.
- I think it's really important to note that we really are trying with the very little bit of resources that we have. I really think we've come a long way in say the last 10 years in getting it out there and having people be aware of the importance of the revitalization of our languages with the very little things that we are able to do.
- The Creator doesn't understand when we're speaking English. So at night when you go to bed and you say your prayers it's all done in the language. I do that every night and I do it in the morning. First thing I wake up and give thanks that I woke up and I am fine, I hope I have a good day, and I hope that

everybody that I know has a good day. When I say my prayers at night I go right through my whole family, I even include my dog. That's what you can do. It all has to become a habit. And what, what, as we old people, cause I am an old person now, is that we have to be persistent. We have to keep saying these things and hope that somewhere that someone hears us, is listening and will do what we say.

- Every day we are writing words down what we want to preserve. She'll write it in Mohawk and I'll write in Cayuga. I've got a whole pile like that of sticky notes that I have to transcribe to a paper, then I can have it typed up and we're going to put it into a folder; one Cayuga and one Mohawk and its going to be there for anybody who wants to take the time to look at. How did you say this word, how would you say that word? Even phrases, when does it mean when somebody says this.
- It's the high language that we have to interpret. Sometimes it takes her and I several days, if not longer to come to a proper transfer of a word into English and sometimes we can't even find a word that will describe or say what we're saying in Cayuga or Mohawk or have it put into English. Can't do that, it just doesn't just come out. So those are some of the things...and I am very strong in the language.
- My brother started working at the cultural centre, and he said to me one day Mr. Henry is teaching us and I want you to help me. Every time he'd come back he'd have a new list. This opportunity came up and he said why don't you go to school to be a language teacher. I looked at him, are you crazy. He

said well you've been teaching me now for 2 years, why can't you do that?

There's no reason why you can't. I made my application and then had to get it approved by Mr. Henry that we were fluent and could speak. I went to see him, took my papers and I sat there at the table. He gave me this picture and he said see this picture? I am going to time you. I want you to tell me what it's all about and you've got three minutes. So I started talking about the picture and I didn't just say this is, what it's called, I talked and I described whatever was going on, what it was, and everything. Finally I stopped and said is that long enough? He said oh yeah you've been talking for almost 10 minutes. He just kind of teased me, said I guess that I'll have to say that you can speak.

- We have these Elders gathering at our place of work and we talk. We do just what we're doing now but its mostly in the language and we're pulling things, trying to explain and we're recording it so that we can leave it for the people to know what these things mean when they're doing Gaiwí:yo and they're speaking in the language and what do they mean by that. And there's some words in that speech, Gaiwí:yo, that you can't translate and the people that could help us are no longer here. And that's the sad part.
- My first-year students some of them have gone on and they actually still speak today. I can talk to some of them and just use all Mohawk. I'm really proud of them because they ask questions. That's what we need to do. We need to start listening to our kids because I think they need to be addressed as to why they should learn their language.

- We went ahead with Midwinters. I took my students to the longhouse and what we did was make them traditional clothes. I had women come in and they helped them make their traditional clothes. So when we went they all wore them, every one of my students had their own traditional dress and they were proud of them because they helped make it. And they did the stirring ashes, the men's chant, they did the speech, and sang the songs.
- It's a whole process of genocide again because it's not supported by our own people to have language in our community. All of our services should know what the culture is about. We're trying to decolonize ourselves from what happened prior to contact. So in order to regain that and to revitalize our people it [language] has to be supported by the whole community; whether they're band council or another services that are offered by the community they should support that language and culture should be in every school.
- I tried to work through the Cayuga Master's Apprentice and to try to drive that to the council to, you know, to get them to understand the importance of language and how it facilitates this community, but like I wasn't able to get to that point. I addressed council a few times to bring that focus to them how important it is to be Onkwehonwe and all of them are representative of that.
- People in this community who can translate that [the need for funding language programs] because they're educated and they can be creative about how to get that money. They can turn those words around so that we can do language and can be creative and access money and report to the government this is what we're doing.

- There is a need for funding for programs and it needs to be in every area. The kids that come from adult immersion they could be out there teaching language in all those other services in the community. So it addresses employment, health, social services, and even council. The way that things are has created this imbalance because we don't have language and we're always struggling to come up and to meet that and we can't because there's not enough support, there's not enough encouragement from our people to bring that up.
- All of the services that are provided in the community should have a culture camp, or they should have services where they're learning about culture. They want parenting, well this week we're gonna have traditional parenting.
- We haven't had an Elders meeting this month and the old folks are asking us when are we gonna. We are going to have a fundraising for this. We'll sell lunch or supper just to get us started. We meet every other week and we do what we're doing here. We just sit and we talk. And towards the end we didn't have any money at all so what we did was have potluck lunch. Everybody brought something and shared.
- The one thing that they [the Elders] ask is how do we get the point across? Do we have to get to that point where I noticed this morning somebody was protesting? Because we're not like French people, they have a lobbyist. I said that before that we need a lobbyist to be right out there speaking about the importance of our language like the French do. I always refer to Martin

Luther King and how he came up from slavery to where he is today. It has to be a collective thing. The whole reserve has to do it.

- Nobody is planting any more. Nobody has a garden anymore. People would come up to me and say when are we gonna have our small green corn? Well I said is your corn ready? Oh I don't have any. We need to plant our corn that way we can tell, when do we have our green corn ceremony. All those things have reasons when they come due. All those things has to do with doing ceremonies.
- Why can't we adopt a row of corn, that way it's not so overwhelming. You don't have this great big 5-acre field to hoe. But if you adopt a row its your family's responsibility to hoe and keep the weeds out. At the end we can all go there and harvest all that corn that we sowed.
- Language programs shouldn't just be running for 9 or 10 months it should be a year-round thing because we utilize everything year round in our ceremonies. Our ceremonies are going year round and we should be thinking of that everyday.
- Language comes alive when you show them that's what they call emergent. You're doing it and you're speaking to it. And that's what we gotta do.

Interview

- I helped establish an unconventional immersion school starting with kindergarten. We started the immersion school and it wasn't in the best of conditions but we persevered. They took an old one-room school that was put out of service and they washed it all up. Parents came with pails and buckets

and got it clean. Children sat on pails for their desks and chairs and that's how it got started.

- One program had to use the legion hall. Every morning they would clear the beer bottles from the veterans and made a classroom out of it. So that tells me there is perseverance there. But we had parents that helped, and they were animated and they were supportive and they gave a new life to the language. The outcomes of that were amazing.
- With the whole education aspect of fluency, now that's always been a discussion, as you know from many aspects and many unique positions. I know we haven't been about creating a program, in school program for language arts. Which includes scope and sequence. I'm trying to use literacy to get back to our fluency, to support fluency. There must be a system we can adopt or create ourselves that addresses fluency.
- In this very room I brought in some Elders and we used to always have tea in here because Reg Henry was the father of our writing system for the Cayuga language. There was a lot of people who used to visit him here cause they knew he was employed here as a consultant and a writer. So of course I had a lot of meetings with him privately because I was green, I was wet behind the ears trying to figure out where we were going to go with this. And he said to me, I'll do the writing, you go do the fighting.
- I dared myself to raise the fact that I should ask them what they thought about recording verbatim ceremony and music. So, and I took it from my heart and said something like you know I'm so afraid you guys are going to be the lucky

ones because you'll still manage to be buried in your language. I'm not so sure I'm going to be able to be buried in my language. But at least if push comes to shove, they could put a tape recorder on. You know they got it. I don't know where that came from. I just said it. I didn't come down with a piece of paper and I'm going to say this to them. It just came out of the conversation.

- They set themselves up as if they were doing the actual ceremony. Even in the physicality of the recording session. Cause they do it in moieties or collections of clans. They made sure there was equal representation in the recording session so they could respond to each other. Because each clan, set of clans, or moiety has to respond to the other. They got so into it that they had private collections of some of these ceremonies or aspects of them. So they brought those in and we just put them right into the recording.
- This next winter we're going to get a focus group of volunteers that'll sit down to just go through it to make sure that we're capturing a correct representation in writing of that. There is a transcription, translation of it but the people who did it want this focus group to happen so that they can be relatively sure that it's complete.

Focus Group 2

- To bring it back to the community it would take a lot more determination than what people currently put forth. I mean there are people doing stuff but you know we have to do that much more.

- I know, now that I'm a teacher I need to be a role model, and so I make sure I try the best that I can. I talk to the parents, grandparents, and family members that come in the best that I can. There are some of them that are still just learning and some of them are pretty knowledgeable, so I have to kind of work around that. But then when I have really knowledgeable people coming in I still don't use any English. I feel like I'm talking like a baby but at least I'm talking and my kids are still hearing it.
- I think it might be teaching. But I don't know which way. That's why I'm trying a different way than when I went. I'm combining it.
- One question I noticed that always comes up for me is exactly what the schools' function is. The schools have to be more specified; is the school going to teach the language, or is it going to teach in the language? Those are two different things. If you are going to teach the language then your programming is going to reflect that, and you're going to be doing things that are going to get them talking, but if you want your school to be teaching in the language that's a whole different ballgame because then you're going to be teaching the same as any other school off the reserve but you're going to be using Cayuga or whatever and that's different because then you have to teach math, science, all these other things but in Cayuga. I don't think we're that far yet. People still expect the school to be teaching their kids to talk.
- That's a big thing because if they're not speaking, their parents are not speaking. So they come to school, have the language, go back home, and

speaking English again. So they go back to school and re-learn it again until it kinda sticks in there. It takes a longer time for them to even function in it.

- That's how it was with me, thinking back to when I was school, cause it was immersion, but when we came home, or going outside to play, it was all English. Or even in the classroom with each other. It's still like that.
- I know they do try things cause they have a health curriculum that they have to present in the schools all the time. And they do it from all these places like at the birthing centre, they all contribute a unit. I've been doing it for the past 4 years now for the Cayuga classrooms at I.L. Thomas and that's an initiative on all these peoples part, because it was in English before that. That was an initiative to translate all that stuff into Cayuga so that it could be used in an immersion classroom so that you wouldn't have to use English to present this stuff. That is an initiative on their part too and that should be recognized.
- That's some of the thinking in the language that more people need to have; more proactivity.
- The incentive for me to want to do what I am doing with learning the language are those stories that I had learned then when I was young.
- I want to be able to converse with my grandmother because I want to be able to talk to her and to tape her with the video camera and to get that language on tape cause I could see it, even if I don't understand, just to have conversations going with her and my dad, with her and my auntie and I have another uncle, one of her sons, my dad's brother. If I can get them together and just let them

talk, converse. As long as I tape it I can go back to it and say okay these are the stories.

- I know the shelter, when they've done their materials, they'll put words in there from any of the six languages. But then they're only little parts of the words.
- Brent Smith sent me an e-mail the other day, they're [the local radio station] revamping their program now. He asked me if I knew six speakers to each speak one of each of the different languages to come and record an opening address so that they can put some new speakers in there. He said even if you've got two or three of the same language, let's bring them in, let's sit down and record them and they'll play that every day to open. That's how it starts.
- One of our instructors [a former adult immersion student] said the other day, that all of a sudden she noticed something. When I go home and I talk to anybody the Mohawk comes first I don't even think in English any more. If anybody speaks in English I have to stop and think how to respond to them but the Mohawk is right there. I figured that's exactly where were headed. And our goal [as a family] is to eventually get to where there will be no English spoken in our home at all.
- There isn't that interest. I think there's a lot more people that are afraid of exploring that [the language] than are interested taking the language.

Throughout this dialogue the participants discussed action around issues of relational connectivity, responsibility, trust, perseverance, and mutuality. The

participants were very passionate in their dedication and commitment in sharing their knowledge and in promoting language as the key to the well-being of the community. Several instances were noted of individuals working together from their respective positions of strengths in determining priorities and accomplishing mutually established goals. Lack of support by community agencies and Council whether through diminished or unavailable funding, criticism, neglect, and/or placing language issues last on agenda items for discussion was seen as a self-perpetuation of genocidal tendencies and colonialist agendas. Program funding was seen to be a crucial factor in promoting language for community service agencies and educational institutions. Some participants even asserted that language should be a condition of employment or holding a seat on Council.

Language comes alive when it is learned in conjunction with doing, seeing, and feeling. That is why the dialogue ensued around planting gardens, which in so doing also demonstrates ceremonies together with when and how they arise.

Home use of language was seen to be extremely influential in language use, attitudes, and promoting language as a lifestyle choice. It had been determined that it would take a concerted effort to listen to the youth and address their concerns and/or issues in order to be able to work at reducing the apparent generational gap concerning language use and attitudes.

Moving away from solely problematizing language issues, some of the dialogue reframed itself toward acknowledging some of the initiatives that are currently underway to promote language in the community, some of which were accomplished without the

use of government funding. The community response determined what needed to be done, how it would be accomplished, and the timeframes for completion.

A dialogue formed around education and the need to either form or adopt an education system that can address the complex issues of fluency within a traditionally oral language society. Education was seen as a crucial component in language revitalization, while still recognizing the need to conceptualize a new way of considering how we teach and what the function of our education system will be. Some of the participants articulated issues around the second language acquisition cycle.

Relational and social wellness within the community through the language, while articulated through their own unique perspectives, was the main goal of all of the participants.

Once again the participants articulated the need for a socially conscious paradigm shift in order to come together to develop a mutually established plan of action, to establish timelines for completion of the goals, and to carry forward the vision.

National

We need to look at ourselves as a community of Nations spreading across Turtle Island. In this way we can promote demographically and in a spirit of nationalism what we need to do collectively to revitalize our languages.

Focus Group 1

- You [referring to another participant] said that our languages, our speakers are dying. It is doing that and you [referring to that same participant] also said that they have a lot of speakers out West. It's not true because we have been to languages conferences when they've been there and they are in that same

predicament that we are in. It's the school that's done it. It's done it to all of us. It took the language right out of us.

Interview

- Gaweniio was a pilot project in the late 80s. As it evolved and as the community got excited about it they just kept adding grade, after grade, after grade, after grade. Putting some political pressure on Indian and Northern Affairs of course, cause they're about English education only. So they had to be civilly disobedient in not allowing their children to go to school and that's how they got the funding for it. There's a lot to be said for being civilly disobedient in this country.
- Because education is so organized then you have to become organized.
- We get the dregs of whatever we can negotiate with Indian Affairs because we don't trumpet it. And we really have to become articulate in doing that.
- When I went to school it was all English-speaking teachers. Even the people from the community who had gone on and had become educated to teach because they had also gone through the English stream and they didn't have the language to be able to come back and teach it in the classroom. They had to teach in English. At most we could do some projects about who we were and how we lived on the Grand River, and maybe that stuff. But they didn't have the language component. It basically it was frowned upon, it was outlawed. You couldn't have language instruction until the 70s. That was the whole change that allowed us to have the language.

- I study Quebec issues and how they've placed themselves. They may not win all of the brownie points but they make an attempt to be known as a distinct society. They have their language that's now law. They had some luck; three of the last prime ministers were from Quebec, except for Harper. That point in their development was very important. Trudeau, Mulroney, and Martin were all from there. Not only did they push that agenda, they made sure it was secured in the constitution of Canada.
- The misnomer is that this country is too large that one policy is going to represent each region. It doesn't happen that way. I learned it from the Task Force. Being on the National Task Force on Languages and Cultures, at the end of the day, there cannot be one policy a one-stop shop for all of this. It's going to have to have the flexibility to represent each region. Learning from that a group of us decided to just shore up Ontario first. That's big enough with 13 languages. See how we can work with that. I mean that comes from working with Gawañiio and the Task Force; it's too diverse. Some of the bigger elements can be the same, but when it gets down to the delivery it's gotta be different. Some of them can be the same across the country but, the governments of the day, how lenient or supportive are they gonna be? British Columbia, for instance, is so supportive of their languages. I mean the government just poured another million or something into it. So I think we can do it. If Ontario, right now for our language initiatives is less than \$200 thousand for all these 13 languages and 134 First Nations communities on reserve only, not including urban is less than \$200 thousand. And knowing

that the province of Ontario just got from the federal government \$300 million for 4 years for the francophone language for 4 years. What's the economy of scale there? What's wrong with this picture? And that's for 100,000 students. Anybody of any good conscience will say that that can't happen, that's discrimination. Do we file a lawsuit, a class action lawsuit, or a case under the Charter? I think that's a good case. But again, we've gotta position ourselves. That's what we want the language commission AMO to do. To remind and educate on the discrepancy, and to work with our local communities and with our education institutions in this province. This group [AMO] will lobby, advocate, it'll be a champion but it has to be organized. This First Nation can complain of 200 people, this one can complain of 200 people, Six Nations with 23,000 people can complain, but there's more strength if we organize ourselves.

- We can use the media and technology to do that. We never had the opportunity because it was forced underground or we didn't quite know how to manage it or master it.
- We can say we represent all 134 rural and urban communities and we have 13 languages. We did our homework and this will be the next step to meet with the government, the Ministry of Education and use all of the data that we have. If the social indices in this country say that we need to have a balanced quality of life or that we are behind, I mean, the Auditor General even said that the quality of education of First Nations is like 27 years behind the

Canadian population. It's going to take 27 years; we're behind that much.

The Auditor General said to Indian affairs, you gotta do something.

- The province of Ontario has set up these district offices of Aboriginal Education. But AMO hasn't met with them yet.
- The Assembly of First Nations is too large. They are back and forth about whether we should launch a lawsuit and it always gets set aside. Whereas in Ontario we could launch it for our region and if the others want to become sendentaries to it then that's fine. We are also encouraging and are encouraged by the fact that other regions are looking at setting up regional language commissions. It is my hope that we would see a federation of those. Maybe we would have some political influence, in the big picture, you know because who can deny success? You know if they are part of the politic of the country then you know and they know who they are and what's wrong with that? That's what the francophones are.
- We would use the social indices that this country uses or the international indices for social development and then do the research about our society. That would be the report card that we would try to change every time this think tank met or institution. It would be like the one from the Frasier Institute on economics it comes out like an annual report and lets hold it up to the government that this is the report card. This is coming from our academics, our own scholars.
- We just won the Misquadis case, well not just won, about 3.5 years ago with the Area management Board. We met with them 2 weeks ago with the people

from headquarters and the people from Ottawa. Since that time we won the case on discrimination. So now they have to make a remedy to the Hamilton area, the Niagara Area Management Board and by now all the Board members are gone and there are only a few of us left trying to keep this afloat. On December 2003, the court case was finally decided and they have to make a remedy. So we've been meeting with them and with HRDC, they've changed their name once already in the 3.5 years. They kept saying we have to have a proposal from you to resurrect the Niagara Area Management Board, because reluctantly they now have to do it. Eight proposals later we met just 2 weeks ago. We started using it in our communications; this is the eight proposal, right out there. I said we've gotta start doing that. So we did and so finally now they're starting to realize that we mean business. I kept saying well come we're trying to remedy your mistake, shouldn't you be preparing a proposal to us and we get first right of refusal? Our lawyers thought that too and so we started talking a little bit more talk. In the confines of the legal position we won. So now they met with us 2 weeks ago and they've agreed now to fund us to proposal No. 1.

- When Caledonia first broke Jane Stewart, the provincial representative, and Monique Paigan who was the federal representative, wanted to meet with some folks like a town hall meeting. So I got in invited. I said I grew up on this reserve. I know the times have changed. I participated in politics and at one point I was on Band Council. I said, you know we've been fighting these land claims for all these years but I can't help but think about what's

happening right now. I know about world politics and civil rights movements. I grew up in the 60s watching on television black people being water cannoned down the streets; mother, father, and child. I grew up in that era. I grew up with the FLQ crisis in Quebec, Ghandi, Dr. King, apartheid in South Africa. Knowing that Rosa Parks made a statement by not sitting at the back of the bus. And I can't help but think what those ladies did in Caledonia; yes they set up a flag, but they may be the Rosa Parks.

- Those ladies shook up the confederacy. I think it made the confederacy realize that they do still have power in another context.
- This young generation is moving back to the longhouse and this is where our work comes in cause we need to help them understand the rituals.

This dialogue centred on issues of education, educational infrastructure, legislation, the legal system, civil unrest, and political positioning.

Education as it is currently being undertaken with its English only policies has, both in the past and in the present, disrupted and disconnected the language from the various culture-sharing groups in this community, across Canada, and for that matter, globally. Education was also brought into question from the position of how we have and are currently training teachers to become teachers.

Positioning within the body politic was also a predominant theme throughout the dialogue and we were reminded that there are other national models already in place for us to consider regarding language and societal distinctiveness. Development of national policies concerning language and education with culturally aligned flexibility built into the delivery mechanisms to allow for individual community and/or regional

implementation were also discussed. Currently communities and/or culture-sharing groups are at the mercy of the whims of governmental systems that may or may not be supportive of Indigenous issues such as language and education. It is interesting to note that despite the overall federal perspective on Indigenous language issues, there is more support for languages in the western provinces than in the central and eastern provinces.

Discussions touching on the disparity between the federal transfer payments for Indigenous languages and francophone languages raised the issue of language having an economic value attached to it. Through the funding policies and processes what value is attached to the francophone language versus the Indigenous languages, which are considered to be minority languages? Could it be that the government is banking on the notion that Indigenous languages will eventually become useless and redundant and may thus over time, be discarded altogether? If, as mentioned earlier, we allow our languages to die, we then would fulfill the government's ultimate objective of no longer considering us as distinct culture-sharing groups within Canada and we will then become completely assimilated or Canadianized. In resistance there is strength in demography. The government responds to large organized numbers rather than small, scattered, and discrepant groups of individuals.

As previously stated, Rosa Parks has become a symbolic agent for change by having resisted and challenged stereotypes, national legislation, the status quo, as well as having reclaimed and reconstructed spaces. Language is our Rosa Parks' bus as we position ourselves agentically to carry forward the collective vision for healthy language communities.

Through various acts of civil disobedience attached to outstanding land claim issues, the Confederacy, which is comprised of 52 hereditary Chiefs representing the Six Nations as established by the Peacemaker, has been shaken and stirred up to take back its rightful place within the community. This in turn has reawakened a sense of nationalism and citizenship within the community that has seen individuals, especially young people, returning to their culture-sharing heritage and thereby their language roots as well.

Global

The year 2008 has been declared the International Year of Languages by the United Nations General Assembly; a campaign was launched on February 21, 2008 at the International Mother Language Day. We need to ask ourselves how we can connect to and participate in this global initiative by locking arms with all of our relations around the world in taking a stand for Indigenous languages transnationally.

Interview

- Getting a think tank of our educated people together to make recommendations. So that it's a strong group in its intent that it would meet annually or every 2 years even and it would produce a report card on Canada. Then maybe put pressure on them to sign the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It would get them to understand that the fact that language loss in this country is nothing less than a crime against humanity as defined by international covenants.

Focus Group 2

- In the Hawaiian programs even the little tiny preschoolers are in class from like 8:30 till 5:00; that's a long time for little kids to be in school, but it's a long time for them to be exposed to the language too.
- They have a high rate of fluency too. A really high fluency rate.
- In terms of their [the Hawaiians'] determination, I remember, they were in the same boat we are 20 years ago. They just resolved not to use any English whatsoever in their schools and between each other. And it worked I guess. It sounds like they're doing pretty good. And even when they went there, Gaweniio, they wouldn't let those visitors the ones from here, they wouldn't let them talk English around any of their kids cause it would influence them that much. They said, no you can't talk English at all.

Given that this is the United Nations' International Year of Languages it was considered to be an opportune time to create a group of Indigenous scholars that will make recommendations to the Canadian government on Indigenous language issues. This would create global pressure to answer for why the Declaration has been rejected and refused by the government. It would bring these issues into the global spotlight where the glare of that light cannot be sidestepped.

Some of the participants discussed their experiences with other successful programs underway in other countries such as Hawaii that, through determination and commitment, have made great strides in increasing their fluency rates. The children are saturated in the language daily, both in-class and again in the home environment. While the Hawaiians' epistemology concerning hospitality toward visitors is well known, their

voracious adherence to their collective vision for language restoration and maintenance necessitates that they do not, under any circumstances, allow visitors to speak English around any of the school children.

Summary

The composition of each of the focus groups and the interview influenced the depth and breadth of how the questions were addressed by the participants. Further, the dynamics within the focus group as well as the individual experiences of the participants affected their interpretation of the scope of each question within the realm of language and education. Following is a summary of how each group focused their discussion within the four major themes.

Vision

You will note from Figure 3 that Focus Group 2 and the interviewee equally saw vision as an integral part of the process. Both groups focused their discussion primarily on inter-personal or community relationships; however, the interviewee considered community and vision of paramount importance. The second focus group focused its discussion evenly between all four subthemes and was the only group to touch on issues of global visioning.

Relationships

Figure 4 clearly shows that relationships were viewed as equally vital by all three sessions. Focus Group 1 focused its dialogue around issues of community or inter-personal relationships while the other two sessions spread the dialogue evenly through the various subthemes. Only the interviewee and Focus Group 2 touched on global relationships.

Knowledge

Knowledge was deemed critical to language issues by the interviewee but less so by either of the two focus groups. One issue that kept arising was the concept of education and the interpretation of what it means to be educated. The two focus groups kept the dialogue centred on inter-personal knowledge while the interviewee focused his dialogue around knowledge issues nationally. Neither of the two focus groups considered knowledge from a global perspective.

Action

The dialogue with the interviewee was very action oriented and centred on a national call to action. The two focus groups focused their dialogue around inter-personal or community-centred action. Focus Group 1 did not address action from a global perspective while Focus Group 2 did not consider action from a national perspective.

Overall Focus Group 1 concentrated mainly on inter-personal or community-centred dialogue, the interviewee's main focus was on national issues, and Focus Group 2 for the most part spread the dialogue evenly throughout all four subthemes with a slightly greater focus on community-centred knowledge and action.

In developing this conceptual framework for analysis and preparing the transcripts for the final coding through that framework, I did not encounter any instances where there were anomalies in the data that did not fit into the framework. In fact, as I have purported throughout this study, the process was completely organic, and as such, there were instances where the data at times fluctuated and converged around more than one category as denoted by the broken lines in Figures 1 and 2. I will, at this point,

reacknowledge my epistemic position that once the framework for analysis had emerged, I was able to conceptualize all of the data through that framework.

Knowledge Claims

Visioning is the fountainhead, the beginning place from which all else flows. Let us lay down our tobacco-that very sacred medicine, the activator of the spirit world-and all other processes so that we may consider the knowledge claims that this researcher has identified as rising out of the findings made under each of the four directions (intrapersonal, interpersonal, national, and global). Each of the four aforementioned directions is further represented by the four directional medicines: tobacco, sweetgrass, sage, and cedar (see Figure 2).

Vision

The one claim for a unified vision that is unanimously echoed throughout each of the four directions was a vision for healthy communities. The interpretation of that vision is what has been causing a disconnect within ourselves and our own community, as well as across Canada. It is this seeming disparity that contributes to the social and relational dysfunction within our communities and builds barriers of resistance to language initiatives and creates the tonal scenario for the lack of financial and emotional support.

Notions of community, integrity, identity, and ethical space, as previously defined, are threaded throughout the interpretation of the vision for healthy communities. As well, ethical space also refers to the reclamation and reconstruction of educational and political spaces where we can create and put forward that collective and unified vision for a healthy community. In order to reclaim and reconstruct those spaces we have to

become agentic in our pursuance of that vision. We must resist the notion that someone else is going to fix our problems. We know what the issues are and we have tools to envision and subsequently create what we want for a healthier future and to increase the standard of living for our communities.

My experiences during my graduate internship in Aotearoa as well as with the Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific SIG (Special Interest Group), which included both the Maōri and the Hawaiians, during the American Education Research Association (AERA) Conference in March 2008, reaffirmed that the experiences of colonized peoples around the world are similar. When you tell your stories of the implications of language loss and vision for revitalization everyone nods their heads in agreement because those are their stories as well. The dedication and commitment of both the Maōri and the Hawaiians in revitalizing and privileging their languages is evidenced by their high fluency rates.

Revitalizing and privileging our languages is a spiritual and ancestral responsibility. Our languages can only be found here in our geo-linguistic space. Not having a care to privilege them and give them a place of primacy and centrality in our vision for a healthy community has wider implications than simply changing one mode of communication for another.

The following is a list of specific claims concerning visioning that have risen out of the data and that I purport would serve to establish and accomplish that collective vision. I have organized the claims according to the outcomes previously articulated in the Purpose of this Study section in Chapter 1.

Political Agendas

- Engaging in personal and collective decolonization through reclaiming the language would serve to bring healing to intergenerational emotional, spiritual, mental, and physical wounds in order to restore harmony and wellness and would help balance individuals and communities.
- Proactivity in community and national politics would ensure representation from those individuals who would be positioned to champion language and educational initiatives.
- As language grounds a civilization, so nationalism is then born out of that sense of identification through the language. We are a civilization comprised of many Nations with each Nation having its own distinct culture and language. Language, traditions, and culture are so completely intertwined and enmeshed that the loss of any language is a total annihilation of those traditions, cultures, and knowledge systems.

Government Policies

- By actively resisting the notion that our languages are minority languages, we can reclaim and reconstruct the knowledge that we have an individual and collective inherent right to have our languages. We can then utilize established national and international policies in order to articulate that right.
- We must begin to take control of our education by making the education system that we have work for us, and not the Federal Government. We can create language arts programming for our schools and, as well, we

need to be specific in defining the function of our schools. In so doing we can start educating ourselves in the language and create systems for defining and assessing outcomes for measuring fluency. Bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism through education ensures a balanced quality of life equal to or better than that experienced by the mono-lingual dominant society.

Language Development

- We need to begin to live our languages in order for them to be resurrected through a total physical experience. This would serve to transforming personal and collective language attitudes that would build integrity and assist in the development of social, political, and economic sustainability within any given Aboriginal community. Dedication and commitment to the development of consistent, diligent, and sustained language usage would create an environment where language is integrated into all levels of community.
- Recording our fluent Elders would ensure that their cumulative knowledge would not be lost while we are on the road to recovering our language. In so doing, we will also minimize the loss of the “high” language while creating contemporary language. Listening to the stories of our Ancestors and Elders enables us to embrace the past in order to coexist in the present and envision and proactively seek a healthy, positive future for our selves and our children.

- The dominant education system took our languages away; it must now be the vehicle used by us to revitalize them. We need to build a critical mass of fluent speakers, Indigenous scholars, and educators teaching language in all the schools. We can start by teaching the children to take pride in their culture and the language through representation and in ceremony. The Gaweniio Immersion School, which offers Kindergarten through to grade 12 on Six Nations, has recorded extremely low absenteeism and dropout rates with high after-graduation success rates. Immersion education requires funding that is adequate and equal to the funding provided to mainstream schools in order to be able to furnish functional and healthy learning environments.

Relationships

From the fountainhead-the beginning place-we go to the southern door of relationships represented by the sacred medicine, Sweetgrass. This is the place from which all forms of relationships based on mutuality are established and maintained.

In furthering that vision for a healthy community we embody the relationships we create within ourselves, in our daily interactions with each other within the Six Nations community, and the community-at-large. As stated above we must take ownership and responsibility for the state of our relationships and our contributions to them. Language as a value laden construct embodies who we are as a culture-sharing group, determines how we are socially and culturally aligned, and is a powerful decolonizing factor. This, in turn, has a strong correlation to our biodiversification, in other words our geo, social, and spiritual identity.

Once again we see shades of fluidity and synergy in language and its connection to relationships. As such we embody a “living” language; in other words, it is organic and is in a constant state of flux and evolution. However, having said that, we also need to ensure that we protect the high or original language so that the ancestral knowledge base contained in that language is preserved in the same manner that we would preserve a national treasure. It is our ancestral birthright.

Through the process of a socially conscious paradigm shift, we would work toward establishing and maintaining healthy relationships that would serve as medicine that would heal our communities and whereby we could work together from our respective positions of strength for the betterment of our communities. In this way can we collectively create the environment where we can begin to privilege our languages so that we ourselves do not continue to perpetuate the colonialist notion that they are nothing more than minority languages and as such, serve no useful purpose.

The following is a list of specific claims that this researcher has identified as rising out of the findings concerning relationships that I assert would serve to establish and accomplish that collective vision. I have organized the claims according to the outcomes previously articulated in the Purpose of this Study section in Chapter 1.

Political Agendas

- In order to access the knowledge of the Elders it is essential to be able to communicate one’s lineage as well as understand and adhere to long-established community protocols. Storying has and continues to be a vehicle for understanding the knowledge passed down intergenerationally concerning identity, roles, relationships, and responsibilities.

- As a civilization, a system of symbolic interaction was in place, which was conducted through the language that engaged people into the process of inclusion.
- Establishing and maintaining relationships with other speakers reminds us that we are not alienated in our struggle, fosters collaboration in language preservation and maintenance initiatives, ensures constant and consistent language usage and saturation, and serves to sustain and reawaken our Elders.

Government Policies

- Building relationships within the political arena allows us to position ourselves to be more effective advocates and lobbyists for language preservation and maintenance.
- Having and maintaining our languages is crucial in being able to claim status and citizenship as a distinct people.
- Multi-lingualism is the global standard while mono-lingualism remains the exception.

Language Development

- Language is the vehicle for social contentment; it provides the mechanism that promotes balanced, well-adjusted, and healthy lifestyles.
- We must address through education and role modeling the resistance, the social myths, and the stigmas arising from individuals who fear that if they learn the language they will somehow lose their ability to speak English in a grammatically correct fashion. Other language communities around the

world embrace bi/multi-lingualism and are equally articulate in the languages they speak.

- Language is not a static entity; it is fluid, flowing, dynamic, relational, organic, and as crucial to life as the blood that flows through our bodies. As such we must live our languages in relationship to one another. Being immersed in the ceremonies from early childhood grounds individuals in the language and becomes part of their psyche that will prepare them for effective citizenship. Therefore, the language being spoken at home is crucial to language maintenance. Media also has a powerful influence on relationships through language use and attitudes and should be used to further language goals.
- In language development it is less intimidating for language learners to speak the language with children than with adult speakers.

Knowledge

Relationships in all their varying forms create the opportunity for collaborative and collective knowledge building. Knowledge is placed at the western door of reflexivity, of looking within, which is guided by the sacred medicine sage.

The internalized knowledge, which forms the basis for identity, has been connected to issues around language fluency and education. The participants in this study have defined education in terms that reflect a holistic and decolonizing experience that promotes language and cultural teachings as a process toward healing and wellness within individuals and communities.

There are many examples where bi-lingualism and by extension bi-culturalism has been seen to promote strong cognitive and social development within the bi-lingual/bi-cultural individual and community. Education is seen to be the vehicle for transmitting that message to the community.

Set forth below is a list of specific claims that this researcher has identified as rising out of the findings concerning knowledge that I suggest would serve to establish and accomplish that collective vision. I have organized the claims according to the outcomes previously articulated in Chapter 1 of this study.

Political Agendas

- The Eurocentrically constructed education system snatched the languages away from various culture-sharing groups and thus effectively robbed subsequent generations of their inherent citizenship to that culture-sharing group through the language. Reclaiming and reconstructing those educational spaces ensures that education can and will be used as the vehicle to restore them.
- Mainstream education with all of its accoutrements and undisclosed expectations of normalcy are in direct conflict with Indigenous ways of knowing and being. In this environment students feel under attack mentally, socially, ethnically, and spiritually.
- Being able to communicate an identity through the language is very important. Language is no longer just an issue of equality but is also about an articulation of distinctiveness.

- Language is an epistemic window where language and culture are intertwined and are inseparable components of one another. Language without culture is empty and void of substance. Language is our connection to and knowledge of the spirit world, and as such, spirituality is an integral component of language, culture, and education.
- Language is the social adhesive that holds all of the varying, complex, and interconnected elements of a civilization together.
- Mechanisms need to be put in place that can assess the needs of the community and the effectiveness of the initiatives currently in place.

Government Policies

- The federal government continuously claims to pour billions of dollars into Aboriginal education but does so consistently and doggedly within an education system that is proven to be failing Aboriginal children, all the while failing to acknowledge or adequately fund this community's immersion school system whose indicators have recorded consistently high student success rates.
- We are a civilization comprised of many Nations with each Nation having its own distinct culture and language. As such, Indigenous people across Canada cannot be considered as one homogeneous group of individuals where a one-size fits all language and funding policy can be applied unilaterally. There can and should be broad areas of commonalities, although the individual delivery mechanisms would be Nation specific.

- We need scholars, researchers, and educators from within our community who can be creative in developing funding documents and statistical reports that are palatable to the government while firmly grounded in the needs of the community and that can be utilized to apply for funding for language initiatives.
- Begin to examine what policies, procedures, and infrastructures would need to be put in place in order for this community to take over its own education system and subsequently develop and foster collaborative relationships that will be needed.
- The Canadian government has to date refused to sign the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which sends a negative message to the Indigenous people within Turtle Island and to our relations around the world. The Charter of Rights Section 25 only guarantees that we have the right to protect our languages and culture but does not specifically point to any obligation on the part of the government to put measures in place for that to occur.
- In order to transform the existing paradigm we must take control of our own existence and start creating a reality where we are naming the issues, articulating how we think about them, and determining what needs to occur.
- There are many examples to follow of civilizations who fought their way through their own colonialist experiences, some of which include: Quebec, Aotearoa, Hawaii, India, and South Africa.

Language Development

- We should work towards having fully qualified fluent speakers teaching language in all the schools who will be able to break down and teach the language to all levels of learners. Trained technicians can ensure effective use of media to further language agendas.
- Language fluency is determined largely by how well an individual is able to converse together with his or her knowledge of the high language and ceremonies. Saturation increases fluency. In order to effectively communicate in any language we must also be able to think and process in that language.
- Change the function of our school to a system where we are teaching in the language, and not simply teaching the language. This would entail an overhaul of the education system as it currently exists in this community. Knowledge acquisition comes in many forms both formally and informally through the use of storying and ceremony. There is a lot of knowledge in ceremonies that utilize all the varying combinations of intelligences from which to decipher meaning.
- Adult Language Immersion programs should be organized around differing but equally important realities and should be fully accessible (including funding) to dedicated individuals in the community-at-large; those who can take leave of absences in order to devote themselves fully to the daily study of the language; those who need to remain employed but could devote a reasonable amount of evenings and/or weekends to study

the language; and young mothers who could attend language nests with their children when both mother and child could be immersed daily in the language while interacting and bonding with one another.

- Education encompasses an understanding of and rapport with issues of biodiversity at all levels. This knowledge can be instilled in early childhood education. It is clear that learners are becoming knowledgeable when it is evident that the newly acquired knowledge moves from being solely head knowledge to heart and spirit knowledge. Language comes alive and emergent when it becomes a part of a total holistic experience. Students who have been unsuccessful in mainstream classrooms appear to excel in language programs due to the epistemic compatibility of the learners with the learning environment.
- Resistance seems to centre on issues of language acquisition versus language loss; a win or lose scenario. Previous experience for Indigenous people has unfortunately been one where the acquisition of one language automatically entails the loss of another and as such individuals expressed concern about losing their English grammar.
- The philosophy surrounding bi-lingualism and multi-lingualism clearly delineates that individuals can hold two or more languages with equal status in their linguistic repertoire. Bi/multi-lingualism has been seen to broaden our thinking and shifts the narrowness of our own worldview. In a two-worlds approach to education the students become bi-epistemic.

- Recording, interpreting, and translating the high language and ceremonies is a long and arduous process, as many times there is no possible English translation, and further, translations can lose nuances and specific meaning-making. It requires an excruciatingly detailed analysis of interpretation with careful attention to cadence, rhythm of delivery, and subtle nuances.

Action

The western door of knowledge leads us to the northern door of wisdom. It is from this place that vision is actualized. Visioning is represented by cedar, the medicine of restoration, healing, and therefore also represents decolonization. Action is not static but must create out of itself constancy, consistency, and sustainability. As the cedar medicine is combined with our tobacco, the cedar crackles calling the attention of the spirit world to the offering. As with any decolonizing process, it also becomes the place of testing in order to assess our commitment to and success of the initial visioning processes.

It was well stated throughout each of the sessions and within all of the dialogue that concerted dedication and commitment is absolutely necessary in order to create short-, medium-, and long-term measurable and attainable goals that will make our languages a priority. No one individual has the ability to carry that burden alone.

While our children are the key to sustainable language revitalization, we must ensure that in our efforts we do not ignore the needs of the adults who were not taught the language by parents who, due to various well-documented reasons, did not pass on the language to their own children (who are now the adults), but are subsequently passing on

their knowledge to their grandchildren. Lack of funding, encouragement, and support in learning the language within the community further marginalizes this “lost generation” of speakers. Language use within the home environment, together with the persuasiveness of the media, not surprisingly has been determined to be extremely influential in language use, attitudes, and lifestyle.

The education system as it currently exists, together with current practices for the training of community teacher candidates, was seen as a critical area in decolonization through resisting the status quo, reclaiming education spaces, and reconstructing what the landscape of education for Indigenous people within this community and the community-at-large will ultimately look like.

The following is a list of specific claims that I have further identified as rising out of the findings concerning action that I believe would serve to establish and accomplish that collective vision. The claims have been arranged according to the outcomes articulated in Chapter 1.

Political Agendas

- As a community we must take the time to become involved in the responsibilities we have around issues of bio-diversity (geo, social, and spiritual identity). As a community within our social and political interactions, we need to make every effort to communicate with the spirit world and to acknowledge life. In this way we can each acknowledge and take responsibility for the internal rationalizations that have erected barriers to learning the language and make a full determination to break free and press forward. As a community, this involves resolving to

demonstrate dedication, commitment, and unwavering perseverance to studying and teaching the language at all levels. This builds bridges over the disparity within the community and fosters the ethical space necessary to work together for a common goal and purpose.

- Community lobbyists must consistently work to ensure that local businesses and government systems recognize language as a priority in funding allocations at all levels and for all ages, and must work to build relationships between the fractured political government systems in this community.
- Have Council in collaboration with educational funders develop incentives particular to language such as bursaries and/or scholarships to encourage immersion graduates to pursue careers as fully qualified language teachers. Encourage all graduates (both immersion and nonimmersion) to pursue careers in teaching (with full qualifications), political science, law, and academics by providing alternative incentives not already allocated to health or business fields.
- Parents and interested community members need to become more actively involved in the education system both on and off reserve. It is those collective voices that give rise to change. We must also actively build solid trusting relationships within the community. Take positive risks, ask the hard questions, raise the difficult issues, but be willing to work toward constructive resolution.

- Use the media and technology to further language and educational initiatives. Some of these could include but are not limited to: creating advertisements on television and radio depicting the effects of language loss, holding press conferences, having televised debates on relevant issues, and using interviewed programs. Organize provincial and national bi/multi-lingual conferences in order to make connections, foster collaboration and enhancement, showcase new knowledge, and encourage dialogue on relevant issues.
- Engage the knowledgeable and educated community members who are experienced and gifted in developing funding documents to utilize their ingenuity in accessing federal funding dollars for language initiatives and become unified and organized methodologically.

Government Policies

- We must begin to take control of education in our community by reconceptualizing the educational infrastructure, funding criteria, current legislative policies, and roles and responsibilities, and by creating language arts programming for Immersion schools and systems for assessing outcomes for measuring fluency. We must consider what the function of our schools should be. Do we want our schools to teach the language as a second language, or do we want to go beyond the cycle of second language acquisition and teach curriculum in the language with English skills being taught as a second language?

- Work together to create provincial and regional language commissions that can work politically and administratively in developing and implementing policy and that could be vocal in lobbying for language rights constitutionally both under national and international charters of rights. These commissions could come together to create policies that are broad enough to be used nationally but with enough flexibility that they can be adapted and implemented regionally. They would proactively build ongoing relationships with various political leaders in order to rally support for language and educational initiatives, but also have the authority and influence to be able to back up claims with legal action if necessary and to persistently follow through with that course of action.
- The commissions can begin to actively seek out our own scholars and academics who are willing to work together to create annual reports on the social indices of Indigenous people in Ontario-based on a comparison with national and international statistics, to be made available to governments, communities, and press conferences-which could subsequently put pressure on the government to sign the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and further, to make it part of the constitution.

Language Development

- Young adults and youth need to be consulted and have their concerns and issues heard and addressed regarding language issues, the need to privilege, and to learn their languages. Kinship values are a very strong

influence and a key component conveying the message to young adults, youth, and children the importance of language transmission. We must also create that social conscious shift necessary if our languages are going to move beyond second language acquisition.

- Engaging the knowledgeable Elders in the community who recognize that they have a moral responsibility to pass on the knowledge that they hold in the language and are willing to teach the meanings behind the ceremonies. In this way we can move beyond rote words and recitation so that language can become a living language, a total holistic and emergent experience. It has been shown that consistent saturation in the language (even without full comprehension) builds understanding and increases fluency.
- Language speakers must pass on their knowledge and expertise or it will die inside them. They will become like a woman who carries a child in her womb: if she refuses to birth the child at the appropriate time, neither will survive. We must provide opportunities and financial support for language speakers to become fully qualified teachers in both on- and off-reserve schools.
- Language speakers can be audio/video taped for archival purposes, which would ensure that the high language is preserved while creating new contemporary text. We can subsequently build capacity in the younger generation by creating short-term employment opportunities whereby they

might experience translating, transcribing, collating, organizing text, and also working with Elders.

The outcome and evaluation of action leads to a renewed and expanded vision where the process is renewed again through “re-visioning”.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, DISCUSSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Vision of the Dog Soldier

If I [Greymorning] am to end with one closing image to illustrate the commitment needed to embrace this work then it would be the following. In June 1994, I was traveling back from California where I had helped with the final edits of the Arapaho Banbi video....I paused and looked out at an area where an Arapaho summer ceremonial is held about a quarter of a mile from the high school. As I stood up on that rise thinking how it would look in a few weeks covered with tepees, I was startled as in my mind I saw an image of a huge wall of water moving toward the village. I knew that wall of water symbolized the worst of development and technology: that which would destroy language, culture, and all that those before us had fought so hard to protect for future generations. It was frightening. I remember standing there looking at that wall of water and thinking: "I will hold you back." But as I said the words, and I realized the power of that approaching force, I thought how foolish and small I was and I dropped to one knee and wept. As I knelt there in that position something came over me that I can only express as the Spirit of the Dog Soldiers. These were the warriors who would lash themselves to a wooden stake or arrow driven into the earth, and from that spot they would meet the enemy, fighting for the safety and well-being of their people. In essence they were fighting for their cultural way of being, and only death would move them from the ground they held. When I was down in that position I symbolically tied the leather thong around my leg and stood up and said "*I will* hold you back!". (Greymorning, 1999, pp. 15-16)

Language has been determined to have immense cultural identification for a culture-sharing group and is the primary means by which socialization and ancestral knowledge transmission occurs. Further, language serves to delineate societal roles and responsibilities that create a collective and unified vision of a community.

Education has been deemed the key vehicle through which that vision will be achieved and is therefore one of the multiple sites of resistance in the decolonizing process of reshifting the primary language of instruction from English to the Hodenosaunee languages.

Colonialist policies through the implementation of aggressive educational and legislative policies have served to support and maintain the hegemonic language practices of the dominant culture that has resulted in nothing less than linguistic genocide.

Colonialism has been a key contributing factor in the unhealthy dysfunctions within communities that have contributed to ethnostress and interdiscriminatory actions. As such sustained language reshifting can only be successfully achieved through a radical paradigmatic shift in social consciousness by examining the political and social implications of language reshifting.

Summary of the Study

Through the development of knowledge claims arising out of the dialogue of the participants, I sought to consider what issues have been defined in language development, government policies, and political agendas that will need to be addressed by this study. I have sought to privilege the language community voice as to the knowledge claims concerning various socialization issues and their relationship to language reshifting and education, to consider how language use and attitudes affect individuals and culture-

sharing groups, and how we can work together to co-create a unified collective vision and statement of action.

The HRM engaged in this study (see Appendix B) is a holistic research method that removes artificial barriers by drawing on the values and philosophy of the small Condolence ceremony as a model for engaging a Hodenosaunee community in action research in a manner that is culturally appropriate and sensitive, while respecting and understanding the sacredness of this ritual. This method begins with the participants in each session coming together to engage in dialogue and delineate the phenomenon from their own unique perspective. The participants are welcomed in a reciprocal demonstration of respect and are provided light refreshments in a venue that is warm, inviting, intimate, and close to the land. Through the various storied voices, participants have an opportunity to recognize and rejoice in each others' trials, triumphs, and tears; to connect what is being endured in the current reality with their individual and communal responsibilities; and to rekindle the common fire around dialogue designed to be reflective and engaging.

The sessions consisted of two separate focus groups each containing 8 participants. The first group included key researchers and educators in the area of language development, research, and reshifting; the second group included language students both current and graduated. Each session was 3 hours in length. Analysis of the final transcripts resulted in the emergence of four main thematic groupings: vision, relationships, knowledge, and action, which in turn were each further subdivided into intrapersonal, interpersonal, national, and global (see Figures 1 and 2).

In order for vision to become actualized it must cycle through three stages of development leading to an iterative process of re-visioning. This process for data analysis is very organic in nature and appears convoluted, disordered, and chaotic; however, as with all things organic, there is sense within the non-sense. This method acts as a decolonizing influence more in tune with Indigenous ways of knowing and interpreting knowledge. This is a convoluted and intricate process that twists, turns, and coils in on itself as stories converge, diverge, and intersect with each other within the various themes and subthemes.

Discussion

Notions of identity, spirituality, integrity, community, agentic engagement, and the need for a socially conscious paradigm shift were interconnected issues threaded throughout each of the four overarching themes and subthemes and prevalent throughout the literature. Kim, Lujan, and Dixon (1998) assert that identity (personal and social) is formed through the use of language during the early stages of childhood. Identity, community, and integrity are expressed, according to Duranti (1997), N. González (2001), and Keeshig-Tobias (2003) through the intimacy of spirituality contained within the language. This sense of identification through the use of language within a culture-sharing group provides the environment where the citizens of that culture-sharing group can reflexively consider and reconsider questions around identity formation as noted in Anderson (2000). The medicine wheel models (see Figures 1 and 2) utilized in the data analysis can be further conceptualized through Anderson's decolonizing socially conscious paradigm model for individual and societal identity formation: resist, reclaim, construct, and act.

Resist

Who am I/who am I not? Foundations of resistance are in challenging stereotypes and the status quo. By resisting these enforced stereotypes and the status quo we bring into question the established power imbalances and social injustices that permeate this country through patriarchal colonialist dialogue that still influences the national psyche some 400 years after contact. Resistance to these influences is in effect a key element in the decolonizing process: "Our definition and self-determination as individuals and as Nations involves calling on the past to define the future" (Anderson, 2000, pp. 15-16). Resistance, according to L.T. Smith (1999) is to:

Retrench in the margins, retrieve what we were and remake ourselves....The past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages and social practices – all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope. (p. 5).

When we can identify and articulate questions related to who are we resisting, what are we resisting, when do we resist, why are we resisting, and how do we resist, we can create a collective and unified vision as a community.

"Foundations of resistance" (Anderson, 2000, p. 116) are found in kinship ties, community, integrity, education, and sense of being rooted and grounded in place. In furthering our collective vision for a healthy and vital community we resist the notions of stereotyping, status quo, and legislation that serves colonialist agendas by reframing (as a paradigmatic shift) our statements of resistance into positive action-oriented terms such as: We can have healthy communities; we are able to determine for ourselves what the issues are; we are not identified with the current state of social and relational dysfunction;

we do have the tools and skills necessary to effect change; we are educated and professional; we are capable of succeeding academically; we can create and sustain an education system equal or better than the current system that has proven to be detrimental to the success and well-being of Indigenous students; and we can revitalize and privilege our languages and still function effectively and articulately as bi-lingual/bi-cultural individuals within a bi-lingual/bi-cultural community.

If, as the literature has determined, the study of language and language issues is also the study of power relations, then language is a value laden construct that determines and supports the power structures within a given society. Language has power through the development and institution of policies designed to sustain those power systems. Linguistic interactionism has an economic value attached to it and views the use of dominant language is privileged social, political, and economic asset, while the use of all other languages is marginalized as a hobby or perhaps even as a liability (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998; Coulmas, 1992). We must resist the notions that our languages do not have value and that language acquisition need not be a funding, political, and/or social priority. Within the political arena resistance must take place around the continued disconnection and fractionalization of the political landscape within this community and to the hegemonic national legislative practices that do not serve to privilege and prioritize our languages.

Both the literature and the participants within this study reveal that intergenerational transmission of language is the indicator of the sustainability of a language. Language attrition, according to Kouritzin (1999), occurs seamlessly between individuals. Fishman (1996) asserts that language attitudes, for the most part, depend on

the insider versus outsider perspectives and that any statement of action must have the proactive dedication and commitment of the entire language community. We must actively resist any further attrition of our languages, negative language attitudes, or the idea that our languages are not able to support and sustain our civilization. As well, we must resist the apathetic notion that language attrition is inevitable and the notion that to resist that process is worthless, futile, and a waste of valuable time and resources (both human and financial).

It is well documented that the education system as it currently exists continues to perpetuate the colonialist doctrine of assimilationism that exposes students to the trauma of psychological colonialist bullying, as evidenced by the high rates of dropoutism, chronic absenteeism, low achievement levels, and increased incidences of suicide by school-aged children. It is not surprising that education, and by extension educated community members, are perceived with suspicion, rejection, and mistrust. The education system and policies as they currently exist are multiple sites of struggle and resistance wherein we reject the notion that we are incapable of educating our own children through the epistemic lens of our languages or that that type of education is deficient. Further, we actively resist the intergenerational transmission of the trauma of those previous educational experiences that continue to influence our community members to this very day. Programming and curriculum that only further the second language acquisition cycle that has become embedded into the language community psyche as the only alternative is the beginning place for educational change and resistance to the status quo.

Language use allows individuals to determine their own identity outside the barriers and assumptions created by the use of colonialist language. Storytelling, song, and ceremonies through the language are “anchors of resistance” (Anderson, 2000, p. 131) in that they preserve and protect the power and meaning-making contained within the oral language traditions and they serve to ground and connect individuals to their ancestral knowledge.

As stated earlier, language is our Rosa Parks’ bus and our actions and attitudes of resistance to the stereotypes and status quo will be the impetus of change.

Reclaim

Where have I come from? We come from a place where our community’s languages, values, traditions, and culture have been left broken, beaten, disseminated, and rotting like the buffalo carcasses strewn across the plains along the road to colonization. The remains of this cultural and linguistic decimation have served as constant mental, emotional, physical, and spiritual reminders that have been passed down through the various generations and now manifest themselves in societal and relational dysfunctions, abject poverty, high incidences of elementary and high school drop out rates/absenteeism, higher than normal and younger aged suicide rates, and chronic health issues. We must reclaim language, traditions, identities, and culture “through a framework of relationships” (Anderson, 2000, p. 157). We also reclaim ethical space for decolonization, which is closely tied to the notions of community and integrity discussed in Chapter 4. Positive, healthy relationships are crucial for the survival and well-being of every aspect of life.

The literature reveals that language connects a culture-sharing group with its past and provides the foundation for balanced, healthy communities. Language lives through storying, music, and the enactment of ceremonies. The participants in this study have shown that linguistic identity is a powerful driving force and a linguistic space to be reclaimed as we redefine ourselves through bi-lingualism/culturalism.

We reclaim voice and space to “be” as we move within political circles in order to discuss issues of and assert our rights around self-determination and linguistic heritage. It has been discussed both within the literature and among the participants that it was through legislative measures that language was initially reshifted and it is through those same legislative spaces that we can reclaim our linguistic heritage and the right to have our languages privileged and validated.

However, legislation alone does not guarantee intergenerational transmission and as such we need to reconceptualize linguistic space in order to move away from the second language acquisition cycle into the space where we are simultaneously teaching the language to adult nonspeakers and the very young children/babies in our community, who will then be communicating in the language within the home environment. In this way we can reclaim our languages and create the spark that would set intergenerational transmission in motion.

There was a great deal of discussion among the participants regarding reclaiming an education system that has and continues to fail our children. It has been agreed upon throughout this study and among the literature that while the education system took away the languages it will also be the place from which they will be revitalized. I attended a meeting at what was once the Mohawk Institute, the site of the residential school in

Brantford. The Mohawk Institute is an interesting example of reclaimed space. There are a few organizations that have offices in that building but it is now also a place from which language initiatives and issues are being funded, fought for, and revitalized.

Various authors as well as the participants in this study examined the transformation of the educational landscape into ethical space for mutual dialogue on a new “order of relations” (Ermine, 2005, p. 4). The question was asked if this space could exist within an egalitarian bi-lingual landscape. I believe that the participants in this study have addressed that question of bi-lingual and bi-cultural space and have determined that, in fact, the new order of relations must, of necessity, exist in a fluently bi-lingual/cultural space. Further, that as a matter of course, such a space can only exist within a bi-epistemic construct. Fishman (1996), a well-noted and established author and linguist asserts that bi-lingualism is the key to reversing language shifts.

Construct

Where am I going? How do we want to create a vision for the future? We must conceptualize how we will bring ancestral knowledge, values, and beliefs concerning language, culture, traditions, and education into a contemporary context without losing the substance or integrity of the oral traditional processes. This process, when undergone individually, encompasses self-identification as a community; it is an engagement in a Freirian process of re-naming and co-creating our current reality. Relationships provide the opportunity to collaboratively construct knowledge and prepare us for action.

According to Anderson’s (2000) model for identification the construct quadrant is, in effect, the “re-cognitive” component of identity formation. This relates to the socially conscious paradigm shift that I noted throughout the dialogue among the

participants in Chapter 4. This is where those paradigms, which are basically established patterns of thinking and doing, begin to shift and transform individuals, and collectively societies or civilizations.

The transformation in privileging our languages occurs through the recognition of those languages through our spirituality. Our sense of sacredness is grounded in principles of respect, reciprocity, and responsibility represented in and through our relationships with others, the Creator, and within ourselves-in our groundedness and connection to place through the language.

So, where are we going? As has been stated throughout Chapter 4, the collective unified vision that we can all embrace is the need for a healthy and vital community. That goal can be constructed when, according to Anderson, individuals within the community given the ability to work from their respective places of strength toward the well being and mutual benefit of the whole, and as well, to reconnect and reconstruct the fragmented political system within this community.

The literature and the participants defined the political and legislative areas for construction. As a community we need to construct Regional Language Commissions and to determine their role and function. Modelling the studies conducted by researchers Grin and Vaillancourt (1998) and Wurm (2001) we need to take ownership over and construct our own mixed-methods research on language and language issues that would generate rich and meaningful quantitative and qualitative data for policy and statistical analysis that demonstrate that privileging languages is not only feasible and desirable but is socially, economically, and politically viable. The research would serve multilayered purposes not the least of which would be to publish as ongoing reports on the current

state of affairs of Indigenous languages, as well as the quality and standards of education and teacher training.

Grin and Vaillancourt (1998) identified four language status indicators that, when articulated, provide a description of the position of language within a particular community. Some of the participants had indicated that they wanted Six Nations to be a language community; that is to say, a community where our languages are privileged and centralized throughout all public sectors and organizations, including Council who are presumed to be representatives of what we want our communities to be.

Act

Gandhi has been known to say that we need to be the change we want to see in the world.²⁵ In light of that statement we need to ask ourselves, what are my responsibilities? According to Anderson (2000) resistance is an inseparable component of understanding of what it is that we must do (either as individuals or as a collective). An appropriate understanding of our responsibilities through action ensures that we are all working to have healthy communities. Action prepares us for change and leads once again to a re-visioning in an iterative process.

Identity (social and personal) was a prevalent theme throughout the dialogue and within the literature. We need to act “on that identity in a way that nourishes the overall well-being of our communities” (Anderson, 2000, p. 15).

Language planning, according to Fishman (2000) and Rubin and Jernudd (1975) must be deliberate, creative, solution driven, future oriented, and contextual. The language planning process must also take into account the political, economic, and

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http://www.quotationspage.com/quotes/mahatma_gahandi/

demographic variables that exist within the community. The methods or models to be used depend largely on where the community positions its own languages.

As the literature and the participants clearly determined that education is the mechanism for language revitalization and sustainability, we have a responsibility to the health and well-being of our children and adult citizens to construct a language community whose education system is grounded in a bi-epistemic curricular approach.

The Māori Experience

We can examine other cultures across the world and find that their experiences and struggles are akin to our own. A graduate internship to Aotearoa revealed that, although I was on the other side of the globe, the issues and struggles of the Māori people regarding language and the colonialist experience were eerily similar to our own. While on an 8-week Graduate Internship in Aotearoa I had an opportunity to work with the New Zealand Ministry of Education's GSE (Group Special Education) Poutama Pounamu Education Research and Development Centre (Poutama Pounamu) conducting interview sessions with their key leaders, educators, language speakers, and researchers in language in Tauranga, Aotearoa. This is a narrative from the perspective of a specific group of Māori speakers concerning one community's experience and is not intended to be a generalization across all Aotearoa.

In a dialogue with 3 of the Kaumatua (Māori Elders) it had been stated that "we nearly lost our language, the drift of our [young] people into the cities...in the 50s and 60s" (Kaumatua, personal communication, February 20, 2007) moved the young Māori people away from their sense of place and any ties to their culture and ancestral knowledge. Language became economically motivated and sustained by the need to

function and survive in the dominant society and to play by their rules. “There was a 15-year generation gap between the fluent Māori speakers and Māori nonspeakers”

(Kaumatua, personal communication, February 20, 2007). “Our Elders posed that the best thing that could happen to revitalize the language would be to start with our children....so in 1980 the Kohanga Reo movement was routed in Aotearoa and it was a move by the Māori people....It was a tribal response” (Kaumatua, personal communication, February 20, 2007) without waiting for government input or funding.

Throughout all of the interviews bilingualism was viewed as positive and necessary. In fact, bilingualism is seen to support the decolonization efforts. Bilingualism privileges te reo (the language) because it is taught and received equitably instead of as a second language, and it is therefore seen as an enhancement to and not a detraction from the cognitive development and academic success of children. Contrary to the apprehension noted by most Māori parents, bilingual children quickly learn to sort out which language to use and when. Bilingualism does not foster confusion. That myth is a hangover from colonialist propaganda.

The Kaumatua (Māori Elders) have expressed concerns that, as the youth have been learning the language, making it their own, and adapting new words to describe new realities, the high or original language will and is being changed and, at some point, will become unrecognizable or lost completely. The concern is the impact of those losses or changes on the ceremonies: How will individuals relate to their ancestral knowledge if the high or original language is lost?

While it took 15 years to lose the language, it has taken 27 years (nearly double) to recover the level of expertise needed to sustain the language. According to the

speakers that I interviewed it has been noted that relationships, at all levels (intra- and inter-personal, national, and global), are the key to revitalizing and sustaining the languages, followed by the necessity of having vision, knowledge, and lastly with action. As I pondered this during my analysis of the transcripts I realized that what the narratives were saying is that without establishing key relationships at all levels there can be no collective unified vision, collaborative knowledge building, or a solid and dedicated community action response.

When asked what advice I could take back with me to my community, the Kaumatua advised me that successful language revitalization was related to the initiation of a solid community action response and moving beyond the expectation for government funding. The Kaumatua encouraged this community to get past the barriers of just talking about the language in order to make a conscious determined effort to move beyond the hangover of colonialism; to make a determined and collective commitment to let go of the need to seek a justice that will never come; and to stop looking for support outside of ourselves, our community, and our own resources in order to be able to move forward with the work that needs to be done concerning our language revitalization efforts.

Anderson (2000) asserts that when we pluralize the identity formation questions posed earlier in the this chapter we can begin to “feel the pulse of a social movement” (p. 16). I can feel that pulse in the core of my being like the beating of a drum and it is reverberating within the earth as Indigenous people across Turtle Island begin to feel the beat through their moccasins, free themselves from the cycle of internalized dependency, and slowly but surely begin the dance of reclamation. Can you feel it? Can you hear it?

Recommendations

Two Canoes

The Silver Covenant Chain of Friendship was the first treaty made between the Indigenous people of Turtle Island and the European colonists²⁶. The Silver Covenant Chain was an agreement that both parties would be united in vision and purpose for the betterment of both culture-sharing groups. The Two Row Wampum Treaty was a subsequent treaty that set out the terms of how the aforementioned Silver Covenant Treaty would be enacted. One row represents the European settlers' canoe (or government/political systems) and the other row representing the Indigenous people of Turtle Island's canoe (or government/political systems) with the stipulation that neither of the canoes would intermingle or interfere one with the other, but would remain distinct, equal, and independent from one another. While the Indigenous people of Turtle Island in the one canoe were operating under the assumption that the Silver Covenant and Two Row Wampum were respected and adhered to agreements, the European settlers in the other canoe were plotting to overtake and swamp the Indigenous canoe. The resulting collision of cultural values and epistemologies has left Indigenous people floundering.

Operating from the assumption that Indigenous languages, culture, values, and epistemology were inferior, the Europeans, through the imposition of their own customs and values, set their canoe on a path of devastation. The blatant intention of colonialism was aggressive assimilation and nothing less than the total annihilation of the "Indian problem....our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic"(Titley, 1986, p. 50). This eradication of "the problem" would be accomplished through the "prolonged application of schooling to the

²⁶ See Thomas, J. (1978) for more detailed information.

younger generation...in this way, a cultural wedge would be driven between younger and older Indians...in the process they would abandon their [N]ative languages for English”(Titley, 1986, p. 93). Indigenous people across Turtle Island are still trying to recover from the collision of colonialism that has created social and relational dysfunction, internalized oppression²⁷, identity confusion, as well as linguistic and cultural genocide.

The historical roots of colonialism and legislative guerrilla warfare²⁸ have left the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island suspicious of and hostile towards government promises and funding practices; conversely, it has also created an apathetic resignation of expectancy and dependency on federal transfer payments. Further, it has spawned an atmosphere of unhealthy, soul sucking, and devastating interrelational oppression among the various communities who are dependent upon those transfer payments for the delivery of services to their citizen members.

The Time Has Come

“There are times when we must choose between the status quo
and a new direction. At these times, we must follow our heart”

(Steve Hearn, First Nations Artist, n.d., art inscription)

“There has to be a paradigm shift in the lexicon of our people” (One-on-one interview, personal communication, September 25, 2007). The time has come to co-create and re-name a new paradigm. According to Freire (2003) words have a dimensional duality in that they can be both reflective and action oriented. “When a

²⁷ In this context "internalized oppression" is defined by how individuals' mental and emotional processing is conditioned through sustained colonialistic pressures.

²⁸ Guerrilla warfare is a form of combat whereby a small group of combatants uses advantage and privilege to surprise and ambush the *enemy* in order to draw them into unfamiliar terrain and subsequently attack them in their vulnerability.

word is deprived of its dimension of action, reflection automatically suffers as well...there is no transformation without action” (p. 87). We have not been created in silence, which is the *raison d’être* for various ceremonies like the welcoming ceremony for a child at its birth, and as such we can only be nourished by words bathed in truth and light. Necrophilious naming results only in desolation and despair.

“We are putting things on a hanger and naming them” (One-on-one interview, personal communication, September 25, 2007). Freire (2003) asserts that dialogue is an existential necessity. To collaboratively participate in egalitarianistic dialogue is to participate in an act of co-creation that serves and benefits everyone involved. In order to transform the existing paradigm we must take control of our own existence and start creating a reality where we are naming the issues, articulating how we think about those issues, and determining priorities in what needs to occur. Critical dialogue is, in essence, a way of remaking a particular reality and a critical component for the creation of a new era upon which we emerge from our colonialist past: “The new discourse should be about action, [and] moving forward with real strategy” (Helin, 2006, p. 172).

Wai Wah²⁹: An Agenda For Action

“The only cure for grief is action” (Helin, 2006, p. 165). The trauma of the collision of the two canoes has resulted prolonged and unrelenting mourning for the Indigenous people of Turtle Island as they have experienced compounded losses of language, culture, suicides, and self-determination resulting in a grievance phenomena marked by complex, multilayered, and intergenerational dysfunction. Our Indigenous leaders and community members are focused on the devastation of the collision-looking for a justice and recompense that can never atone for the damage brought about as a

²⁹ Tsimshian expression for "just do it" (Helin, 2006, p. 172).

result of the collision. Change requires a “clear strategy, timeline and measurable goals” (Helin, 2006, p. 167). No third party is needed to define vision for this community, to establish and maintain positive relationships, participate in collaborative knowledge building, or a statement of action. According to Anderson (2000) and Helin (2006) there is no better time in history than the present to effect change. “We are fast to blame something else for our predicaments; I think we have to start learning to say, hey, part of it is my fault” (Focus Group 1, personal communication, September 14, 2007). We must take ownership for the dysfunction and problems within our community and in so doing “we must also take ownership of our future” (Helin, 2006, p. 168).

Political Agendas and Government Policies

Without any revenue stream from its citizens, Indigenous communities are reliant upon federal transfer payments. This focus of our communities upon the federal government has created a situation whereby this community, as with others, has become conditioned to make requests for increased funding, which has increased due to an expanding population base. This puts a strain on the finances of the federal government, which has fiduciary obligations to Canada’s Indigenous population under the current legislation, as well as the community that subsequently has to allocate the funding. This strain will only continue to increase as Canada’s Indigenous population continues to grow at a rate that is “1.5 times faster than the mainstream population....From 1951 to 2001, the growth is even more dramatic, with the Aboriginal population growing sevenfold, while the Canadian population as a whole only doubled” (Helin, 2006, p. 48). As long as the federal government continues to control the purse strings of our communities it also retains power and control over its use, and subsequently thrives on and publicizes any

failure on the part of communities to meet imposed colonialist mandates. It is not unheard of for the federal government and/or its subsidiary institutions to withhold or stall transfer payments, make significant changes to funding policies, all the while putting pressure on the community organizations that depend on government funding for providing services to bend to its demands.

Community

If we can all agree that our collective vision is for healthy vibrant communities, it has been asserted through this study that language is a critical component of that vision. Our languages need to be privileged by placing them first on funding agendas rather than last, if at all. It requires developing a critical mass of political lobbyists who can consistently work to ensure that local businesses and government systems recognize language as a priority in funding allocations. The time has come to build relationships between the fractured political government systems in order that we can become unified and organized under a collective vision for language in this community. We need to engage the knowledgeable and educated community members who are experienced and gifted in developing funding documents to utilize their ingenuity in accessing funding for language initiatives based on the community's requirements and not the ebb and flow of the good graces of the government.

Regional

There is now a need to create provincial and regional language commissions that can identify, validate, and adopt new words, as well as create systems for assessment and evaluation. This institution would work politically and administratively in developing and implementing policies. While not absolving the federal government of its fiduciary

duties under the current legislation, economic self-reliance is the key to moving out from under a complete reliance and dependency upon federal funding, the allocation of which causes internal disputes and competition for scarce resources. We need to work collectively in order to create strategies for self-generating revenue streams.

Collaboration of all community stakeholders will be of the utmost importance in building a vision for economic self-reliance.

National

Any policy that is created would need to be broad in its scope so that it could be utilized nationally but flexible enough that it could be adapted and implemented regionally. It is critical to actively seek and maintain ongoing relationships with political leaders in order to rally support for language and education initiatives. We need to become much more vocal and insistent in lobbying for language rights constitutionally both under national and international charters of rights. There must be consistent collective tenacity in our positions and a willingness to pursue and follow through with legal action, if necessary.

Francophones in Canada have very successfully manoeuvred their position politically in order to ensure that their language received official status within the constitution. Several of the political leaders of this country have been from Quebec. Political positioning is an essential key in being able to influence and put forward legislation that is favourable for language initiatives and strategies.

As an act of self-determination we need to unify, and as a collective, position ourselves socially and politically in order to have the demographical prestige to command respect as a distinct culture-sharing group, and to effect change. Canada's refusal to sign

the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (the Declaration) has made a clear and loud national and international statement about Canada's relationship with and perception of the Indigenous peoples in Canada. We need to collectively exert sustained visible pressure on the government to sign the Declaration, and further, to follow in the footsteps of Bolivia and make the declaration an act of legislation and part of the constitution.

Language Development

The cycle of disconnected relationships is a cycle of social dysfunction. Over a period of time one can begin to build relationships so ingrained within the dysfunction that they are difficult if not impossible to separate. The relationships, in effect, become identified through and by the lens of the dysfunction. We must disconnect ourselves from the cycle of social and relational dysfunction, thereby transforming ourselves individually and collectively through positive healthy relationships. Lateral violence, according to Helin (2006), is a by-product of colonialism whereby the oppressed and colonized begin oppressing and colonizing each other, thereby self-perpetuating colonialism from within a culture-sharing group. This violence can take on many forms including but not limited to: shaming, blaming, humiliation, belittling, as well as exclusionary, self-destructive, and violent behaviors. Lateral violence prevents individuals and communities from working together to create a common unified vision and statement of action.

Community

It is our responsibility to connect with the younger generation and listen to their concerns in order to have the right to communicate to them why it is imperative that they

have their languages. Sachdev (1998) and Young (2003) in their studies determined that the one question being posed by youth and nonspeakers is why scarce and valuable resources should be utilized for language initiatives that, according to their observations, have no economic, political, or global value.

Family values and language attitudes have been determined to be critical components in language transmission if it is ever going to move beyond second language acquisition. Language speakers have a moral and spiritual responsibility to pass on the knowledge they hold in the language. Individuals need to learn the meanings behind ceremonies in order to move past rote word memorization and recitation. That form of meaning-making is important to understanding all of the nuances, the cadence, the beauty, and significance of those ceremonies. It must become a “living language”, a total holistic and emergent experience. In order to reclaim our living languages we as individuals and collectively must make every effort to communicate with the spiritual world, acknowledge life, and act on our roles and responsibilities to one another and to Creation. We must be committed to actively establishing and maintaining solid trusting relationships in the community; to set aside the religious and political schisms, look for the common ground, and create bridges of understanding over the waters of division; take positive risks, ask the hard questions, and raise the difficult issues; be willing to share resources and services, and press on toward developing a constructive vision and statement of action. *Surgite!*

Regional

It has been deemed critical to ensure that the high or original language is preserved while creating new contemporary text. Language speakers can be audio and/or

video taped. Further, we must strive to write down words and meanings for transcription so that that treasure can be archived and not become lost while we are on the road to recovering our languages. We must bridge the generation gap by building capacity in the younger generation through creating short-term employment or high school co-op opportunities whereby they might experience translating, transcribing, collating, organizing, and working with Elders. Bi-lingual lexicons need to be created that are affordable and accessible to all community members. We should also use the media and technology to our advantage in order to further language initiatives. Where human and financial resources are limited or otherwise inaccessible we can utilize video-based conferencing tools to bring communities and regions together for collaboration and strategizing.

National

It would be important to organize intermittent provincial and national bi/multi-lingual conferences, which would create networking opportunities for collaboration and enhancement, showcase new knowledge, and dialogue on relevant issues. It is crucial to utilize Indigenous scholars and academics to create annual reports on the social indices of Indigenous people in Ontario, based on a comparison with national and international statistics, to be made available to governments, communities, and for use in press conferences and publication purposes.

We are a civilization comprised of many Nations with each Nation having its own distinct culture and language. This concept can and should be used to create the one unifying vision that would bring all the Nations together and as such the Federal

Government can deal with us as a unified, distinct civilization with the demographic prestige to influence, command, and effect change.

Education

Without a doubt, discussions around education are fraught with emotional baggage. The education system has served the colonialist agenda in creating an intergenerational traumatic legacy of linguistic and cultural genocide. A United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur concluded that:

Aboriginal peoples in Canada are still trying to overcome the heritage of a colonial education system, which severely disrupted Aboriginal families, their cultures and identities. They were forbidden to speak the only languages they knew and taught to reject their homes, their heritage and, by extension, themselves. (Helin, 2006, p. 211)

The RCAP report stated that: “the destiny of a people is intricately bound to the way its children are educated. Education is the transmission of cultural DNA from one generation to the next” (RCAP, 1996a, p.1). While the colonialist education system is unilaterally acknowledged to have been a very destructive force, it is also acknowledged that education is the only path out of social and relational dysfunctionism. The question remains, what would the landscape of that education system look like?

Both teachers and students alike come into a learning environment as culturally located individuals. That is to say that everyone is grounded in some form of culture as part of their upbringing, which can include but is not limited to one or more of the following: privilege, intellect, ethnicity, religion, poverty, homelessness, social assistance, single parenthood, social dysfunction, or popular culture. By the time a

teacher is fully qualified and begins his or her teaching career she/he would have had approximately 20 years of observing and being immersed in the dominant education system from his or her first experience in junior kindergarten. Academia has been consistently teaching teachers how to teach through the cultural lens of privilege, and it is not working. If teachers could change how they relate to and interact with Indigenous students in their learning environments then the context can be created for reducing dropout rates and improving student achievement levels.

High school absenteeism and dropout rates for Indigenous students are on the rise. It was noted during the interview that one particular school board reported that its dropout rate for Indigenous students was 59% and that it is even higher at other school boards. Indigenous students see themselves represented through classic negative stereotypes, if at all, in the culture of the education system and/or within individual classrooms. This has a great impact on their self-esteem and their ability to succeed in the current educational regime.

There is wisdom in the old adage, “if we continue on doing what we have always done we will continue to get what we have always gotten.” Helin (2006) noted that, “[t]he Minister’s National Working Group on Education reports that First Nation education is in a crisis” (p. 211). New Democrat MP Charlie Angus blasted the Conservative Government in the House of Commons stating that Aboriginal Education in Canada was being forced to take place in nothing less than “third world” schools. Angus demanded that the Conservative government’s Minister of Indian Affairs articulate his criteria for First Nations Education because according to his own experience and the schools/portables that he went to visit they were nothing more than “holding pens for

cattle” and further, that Aboriginal children are being denied the fundamental right enjoyed by every other child in Canada, which is to be able to “go to a good school that gives them hope”. He termed it an “educational apartheid” and berated the Minister of Indian Affairs and INAC for their “systemic negligence” of First Nations Education (Bailey, 2008, p. 16).

In order to effect change we must begin to conceptualize education outside the current epistemic reality and status quo. The landscape of power and control over education remains a white middle class construct. We need to examine where the locus of power and control is over the education system in our community.

Community

“We need to make what we have work for us”(Interview, personal communication, September 25, 2007). As a community we are at a critical time where we must move toward developing the infrastructure necessary to take over our own education system. Someone else is not going to do it for us. This is a dynamic time in flux and as such there is a need for community members to become proactively involved in the education system of our children whether it is in the Six Nations community or in one of the surrounding communities. Teachers and Aboriginal career counsellors should be encouraging the immersion graduates to pursue their teaching qualifications in order to become language educators. We also need to be encouraging all graduates (immersion and nonimmersion) to pursue careers in law, political science, research, and education in order to be better positioned as advocates for change.

As a collective we need to actively pursue qualified individuals for elected council who are supporters of language and education and who will work together to

build relational bridges between the elected and hereditary council where each side is working from their respective positions of strength. We are beginning to see this tentative move toward relationship building from both councils.

Relationships must be strengthened both within the community through the development of a collective and unified vision for action and with outside organizations and institutions who can assist us in furthering that vision. Collaborating with universities and research institutes to develop grant applications in order to conduct rigorous language and education research that will generate the data necessary to reinforce the position that language is critical to the economic, social, and political well-being of this community. The reports generated from the research can be used to create a statement of action that can effect change at multiple levels.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in its position paper entitled *Education in a Multilingual World* (2003) asserted that the language of instruction is closely linked to issues of identity, nationhood, and power. As a community we need to determine what the focus of our schools should be. If we are committed to moving our languages past the second language acquisition cycle then we will have to move toward a system of teaching in the language. To that end appropriate language arts programming and evaluative strategies will need to be developed together with other subjects that will be taught in the language such as math, science, and social science.

Regional

UNESCO acknowledges that the reality of a multi-lingual society denotes complex challenges for any education system and that any move toward complete

uniformity is at the risk of cultural and linguistic diversity as well as student academic success. Unified community visions and statements of action will create the impetus for a regional unified vision and statement of action. The following two sections describe a two-fold vision for language education.

Vision 1. In the first vision, the creation of regional language councils will bring communities together in order to develop a common unified vision for Indigenous education; policies concerning language and education; management and administration of funding, tuition agreements, technology, and information systems; creation of standard regional curriculum that can be easily adapted to multiple cultural and linguistic contexts; consistency in assessments for oral and written fluency, as well as for determining student achievement in all the subject areas; definition and use of terms such as literacy and fluency, which are particularly controversial topics within the Six Nations community; and finally regional language arts programming.

While instruction in community schools would take place in one of the community's First languages, English and French would be taught as subjects in this way encouraging a bi-epistemic approach to education that promotes bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism, which would prepare students to be successfully bi-epistemic in that they can seamlessly walk in both worlds. In this way elevating the language of the community from minority language status to one of privilege while not compromising a student's ability to successfully function in both worlds academically and professionally. The key element in bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism is being grounded and rooted in your own sense of identification first.

For those students entering a total mainstream setting for either secondary or postsecondary education a transitional year could be created for both scenarios that would prepare the students socially and academically, thereby ensuring the students' success and overall sense of well being.

Vision 2. The second vision is for those students who, because of either parental or personal preference, choose to remain within a mainstream setting. At the very least, daily language instruction should be made available for those students rather than having no choice but to learn a “foreign”³⁰ language such as French or Spanish. There are some schools that do purport to offer such language instruction, however, the courses are more often than not cancelled. The rationale for such cancellations ranges from poor enrolment to not having a qualified language speaker to teach. It is my assertion that, since the public schools in the surrounding communities receive funds from the community through tuition agreements for the education of our children as well as receiving funds directly from the federal government for Aboriginal education, these courses should not be offered on the basis of enrolment³¹ as there are funds sufficient to run the courses and pay someone to teach them, regardless of the enrolment numbers.

During the course of this study it became apparent that there are still language speakers who are willing and available to teach the language in schools; however, these individuals lack the qualifications from the Ontario College of Teachers that would allow them to enter into the public school setting and be able to teach. This is particularly detrimental to our Elder speakers who have the language and the culture but lack the

³⁰ Foreign in this context is referring to something, in this case, a language that is outside one's own Nation or country.

³¹ At one meeting I attended between a District School Board and the community it was stated that unless there were 12 students enrolled in a language course it would not run. In some instances that demand would far exceed the number of Aboriginal students actually enrolled in the entire school.

teaching qualifications. The Regional Language Commission could work in partnership with the universities and the Ontario College of Teachers in developing a certificate course designed to train and qualify language speakers to be teachers. As stated earlier, we also need to be encouraging our Immersion graduates to pursue their full qualifications so that they may teach both within and outside the community.

For each vision to be successful, partnerships between the Regional Language Commissions and the universities would need to be established for ongoing research and program development.

National

According to UNESCO (2003), “[t]he choice of language in the educational system confers a power and prestige through its use in formal instruction” (p. 14). The establishment of Regional Language Commissions across Canada could provide the forum for creating a sustainable vision for Indigenous language and education nationally, would unify the regions, provide a demographical voice powerful enough to put pressure on the federal government to be able to effect national policy change, and would represent Indigenous peoples of Canada on the international forum. Membership at the national level will also include Indigenous scholars and academics who can commission their own research and development and/or use the data from the research and development at the regional levels to create national annual reports and publications on the educational and linguistic social indicators of Indigenous people across Canada and compare this data with national and international statistics. The information, in the form of published reports, will be accessible to everyone but specifically made available to governments, communities, at press conferences, and on Web sites. This national

representation would be accountable to the various regions, communities, and by extension, parents and students. Complete transparency and accountability will be the modes operandi at all levels at any given time. UNESCO (2003) has stated that it “supports language as an essential component of *inter-cultural education* in order to encourage understanding between different population groups and ensure respect for fundamental rights (p. 33).

Conclusion

“If we get the whole of Turtle Island back, but we loose our language and our culture, what good is it?” (Focus Group 1, personal communication, September 14, 2007). As I reflect back on the purpose questions posed in Chapter 1, I note that it has been determined that “[l]anguage is not only a tool for communication and knowledge but also a fundamental attribute of cultural identity and empowerment” (UNESCO, 2003, p. 16). Further, the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory is a unique community comprised of six individual Nations under the Hudenosaunee Confederacy with each Nation having its own unique traditions, language, and biodiversity. Six Nations, as one of the largest Indigenous communities in Canada, is neither geo-politically nor geo-linguistically isolated, and as such, is in consistent sustained interaction with the surrounding communities. In order to serve the best interests of the community it would not be feasible or desirable to reshift to using only the First languages without the cross-cultural use of English as a unifying language. However, that is not to say that we cannot create the environment that privileges our languages. If we, ourselves, do not take the necessary steps to begin privileging our own languages they will be lost, and it has been said that at that time we will become “Canadianized” and no longer eligible to be

considered a distinct culture-sharing group with all of the rights and privileges of citizenship within that group.

Language has economic value, and the languages of economics in this country are English and/or French (note that these two languages have been designated as the “official” languages of Canada). It is imperative that, as we seek to close the gap on the social indicators between Six Nations community members and the surrounding dominant society through higher levels of education, employment, and greater involvement in educational, professional, political, and social systems, we do not lose sight of who we are as a distinct culture-sharing group. It is possible to privilege our languages and still communicate articulately in English. It is possible to honour our ancestors, traditions, and culture while working professionally in the dominant society. It is not only possible but also critical that we become bi-lingual, bi-cultural and in so doing, bi-epistemic as we walk confidently in two worlds.

In spite of this assertion, there remains deep-rooted resistance within the community concerning language and education. Language educators and researchers have expressed their thoughts on the resistance as they encounter it every day through their personal and professional lives, and while they stated that they can see the evidence of the resistance expressed through behaviours and dialogue, the resistance itself remains an elusive construct that evades definitive articulation, interpretation, and causation. Language, traditions, and culture are all individually intertwined. As such, any loss of language is also a loss of culture and related knowledge systems. It is equally so for English. It would be interesting to determine if the resistance to First languages in communities that are closely interconnected with the surrounding dominant society could

be connected to a resistance of a perceived loss of the English culture and knowledge systems together with all of the rights and privileges of membership contained within that particular culture-sharing group. That could be a rationale for why resistance is equally strong in both camps. Such deeply ingrained resistance would require the kind of transformation only possible through a socially conscious paradigm shift. This form of resistance and/or direct opposition to language initiatives is not to be confused with the decolonizing form of resistance contained within Anderson's (2000) model for identity formation mentioned earlier in this chapter. However, I must acknowledge that the roots of both forms of resistance have their foundations in issues of identity.

One interesting insight that arose out of my analysis of the findings was that when encountering the stated lack of something was to seek the antithetic (the contrast or opposite). The antithesis of deficiency or subtractive dialogue is to reframe the statement to reflect summative dialogue that is positively action oriented. In many instances the participants in the different sessions talked around what was deficient and lacking in the community psyche and the willingness to commit to consistent and sustained action. It seemed crucial that in order to develop a unified collective vision that any dialogue and analysis ensuing around developing that vision be summative rather than subtractive.

Implications For Further Research

The following additional queries can be developed in order to explore further research arising out of this study:

- What do we want the function of our schools to be?

- How can we make what we have (language/education) work for the betterment of our community and not for the convenience of the dominant political and educational systems?
- How do we want to train our teacher candidates to be teachers?
- Is it more effective to train teachers to be language speakers or language speakers to be effective teachers?
- What in-school supports are needed to bolster teachers, administration staff, and enhance Indigenous student success?
- What are the infrastructures that need to be in place in order for Six Nations of the Grand River Territory to successfully regain control over the education of its children?
- Where is the resistance rooted, what exactly are we resisting, and how can we transform that resistance?

Recognizing My Spiritual Responsibility To My Ancestors

As I was going through the writing process for this study I realized that it had taken on a life of its own. I was no longer in control of the process. I was fretful, anxious, and I felt lost within the dialogue. As I bowed my head and sought guidance from the Creator I began to realize that I was not lost but rather my ancestors were writing their stories through me, each participant who chose to share his or her stories with me was also guiding my hands as they flew across the keyboard; my initial vision for this document still holds true. I was merely a conduit, a vessel for them to share their knowledge and vision, which is why it was so important to me that I capture their stories

and include them exactly as they were told to me. Their stories are far more powerful than just words; they are life, spirit, and energy.

I had chosen the lead quotes for each chapter one year prior to writing this document. I had tried to conceptualize the statements that would best reflect the dynamics of the chapter they would be introducing. Each of the quotes represented powerful imagery that I felt needed to be included. I wondered throughout the year why I had chosen them and how they would ultimately fit into the scope of each chapter. After I completed the first four chapters and was beginning the fifth, I was sharing this process and some of the information in the chapters with a colleague and friend. I was struck by how emotional I became as I shared the quotes at the beginning of each of the chapters. I then realized that they fit in exactly with the dynamics of how each chapter unfolded and was presented.

As I come full circle, I realize that this has been a very sacred pilgrimage for me. I have found it to be spiritually, emotionally, mentally, and physically cathartic. It has swept me along the journey and not only are those who chose to share their stories with me a part of this work, I too am now a part of all of all of their stories in an interconnected web of relationships. As Greymorning (1999) stated when he stood visioning about the tremendous pressure of the forces bearing down to destroy languages, cultures, and traditions, I too have come to realize the intent, breadth, and depth of that power. I have also thought how foolish and small I am. I am an impostor; I am not even a speaker, but as I wept in my own sense of inadequacy I realized I needed to stand firm. I also kneel down and symbolically tie a leather thong around my leg and say *I too will stand lashed to this ground and hold you back!*

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Appendix A

Glossary of Terms

Aboriginal	Refers to the original or first people of a country and is used interchangeably with the terms Indigenous, Native, and Indian depending on authors' context within the use of quotations. For the scope of this document it will also include Métis and Inuit unless other wise specifically noted.	
Cayuga terms	Deh sta ^{>} Ganhohani:y<o:t Sagy<é: Satahí:ne	Stand up Door You sit down You walk, to
Elders	Refers to person[s] within a particular people group/community who are influential, highly respected, knowledgeable, and usually a more senior member of the community. It does not refer to age alone.	
Endangered language	Means that there is little intergenerational transmission. The Youngest speakers are just past child bearing age.	
Epistemology	Is a term that refers to the origins and nature of the knowledge of a particular culture sharing group. Further, it refers to how that culture-sharing group views and relates to its reality in connection with its environment.	
Ethno-linguistics	Refers to the study of language as a source of cultural identification.	
Ethnostress	Originates from two words: ethnicity and stress. Ethnicity refers to the roots of an individual's identity; stress is defined by the constraining forces, pressures, and strains-mentally, physically, emotionally and spiritually-that are a result of the colonial experience that have defined the Indigenous reality. This occurs when the cultural belief and identity system of a culture-sharing group is disrupted. It is the negative experience that occurs within an individual when he or she is interacting with individuals from another culture. The stress revolves around self-image and sense of home/place.	
Extinct/extinction	Something that is no longer in existence; has been totally wiped out; complete destruction.	

Genocide	The systematic extermination of a culture-sharing and/or linguistic-sharing group.
Geo-political	Having to do with political policies as they relate to issues of geography.
Geo-linguistic	Having to do with the study of language as it relates to issues of geography.
Globalization	In reference to the world-at-large.
Hodenosaunee	Is a self-identifying term meaning “People of the Long House” or “Men who build long houses.” They have also been known as the Iroquois, a name given to them by other nations to the east and subsequently adopted by the early European explorers, colonists, and fur traders.
Indigenous	Refers to the original or first people of a country and for the scope of this document will also include Métis and Inuit unless otherwise specifically noted.
Inuit	Refers to the Indigenous people who reside in Alaska, Nunavut, Nunavik, Northern Labrador, and Northwest Territories, and who speak Inuktitut.
Kaupapa Māori Research	Is a research method developed in New Zealand. It incorporates community and tribal research as it weaves cultural beliefs, histories, and experiences together.
Language Nests	These preschool programs are a Māori concept based on Indigenous theory and practices of transformation that serve to privilege Indigenous thought, knowledge, culture, language, and values.
Language Shifting	The term <i>language shifting</i> within the scope of this document refers to the examination of how language is currently being used within a specific community as well as the examination of the need to shift social consciousness in order for that community to understand the urgency in privileging its First languages, which is not to suggest that English would no longer be used as a means of cross-cultural/business communication.
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa (New Zealand).
Meta-analysis	Quantative research analysis that combines the results of various independent studies.

Métis	The national definition adopted by the Métis National Council refers to a person who self-identifies as Métis, is of historic Métis Nation ancestry, and who is accepted by the Métis Nation.
Moribund language	Dying. Only a few elderly speakers are left.
Mother tongue	Refers to the first language learned at home as a child and still spoken/understood as an adult.
Onkwehonwe	Means Original People. Only used in reference to Canada's Original People. Also used interchangeably by AMO in reference to the Hodenosaunee languages and/or culture sharing group.
Organic	Within the context of this document is something that contains a life force or energy that is interconnected with other life forces/energies in order to create mutual sustainability. It is dynamic, changing, evolving, and adapting contextually.
Six Nations	Refers to the six Hodenosaunee (Iroquoian) nations located on the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory in southern Ontario. Six Nations is comprised of the following six distinct nations: Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora. Collectively they are referred to as the "Confederacy" or "League of Nations." Within the context of this thesis I will be referring to this group of nations as the Hodenosaunee of Southern Ontario. The rationale for the use of this term rather than Confederacy or League of Nations is in reference to the six distinct language groups that comprise the six nations. Each nation carries its own distinct language group and therefore cannot be referred to as a collective unit within this milieu.
Socio-linguistics	Refers to the study of the societal functions of a language.
Turtle Island	Indigenous reference to the continent of North America.
Wai ora	Literally means living or healing waters. It is a Māori concept that denotes completeness, wellness, and wholeness. It symbolically represents a river of multiple, balanced, life-giving forces that ebb and flow in the constant pursuit of wellness and wholeness both individually and communally.

Appendix B

Hodenosaunee Research Method



On the Journey

It begins when the people first come together. The condolers, visitors, or those seeking peace, would be standing there singing their songs with wampum belts hanging off their arms to announce that they're coming in peace to consecrate a new relationship.



Welcome at woods' edge

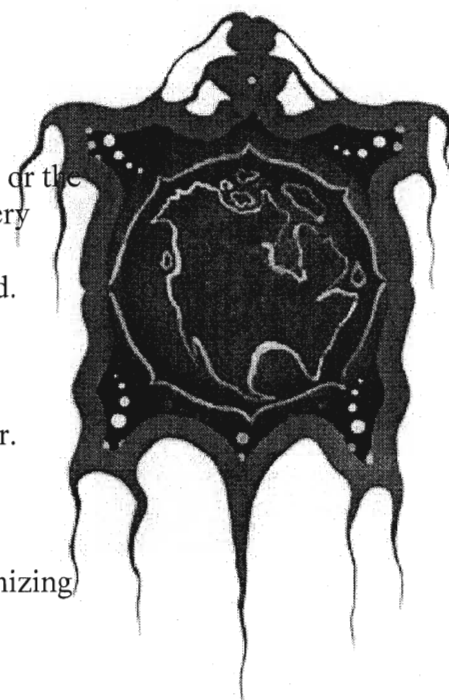
The visitors are welcomed by the people receiving the condolence, or the other party to a treaty. Reciprocal demonstration or respect was very important. In terms of the progress of the ceremony, the visitors have announced themselves and now they're going to be welcomed.

Rejoicing in our survival

Celebrating what we have endured and how it has made us stronger.

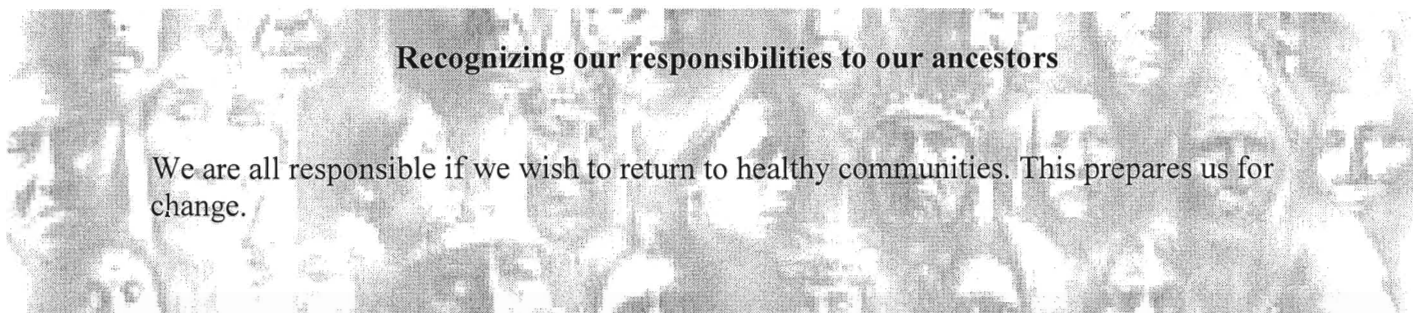
Recognizing our pain and sorrow

Connecting what we have endured to our current reality and recognizing our responsibilities



Recognizing our responsibilities to our ancestors

We are all responsible if we wish to return to healthy communities. This prepares us for change.



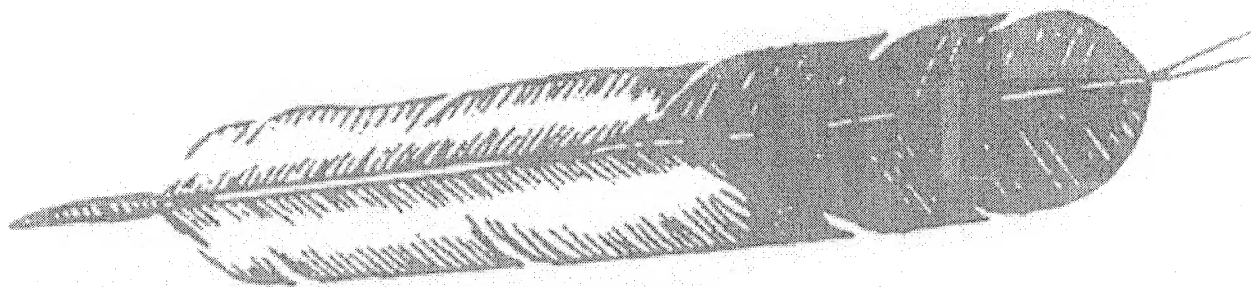
Requickening

Bringing something back to life.



The rare words

Wiping the eyes, cleansing the throat, and unblocking the ears to take individuals beyond the pain of their experience.

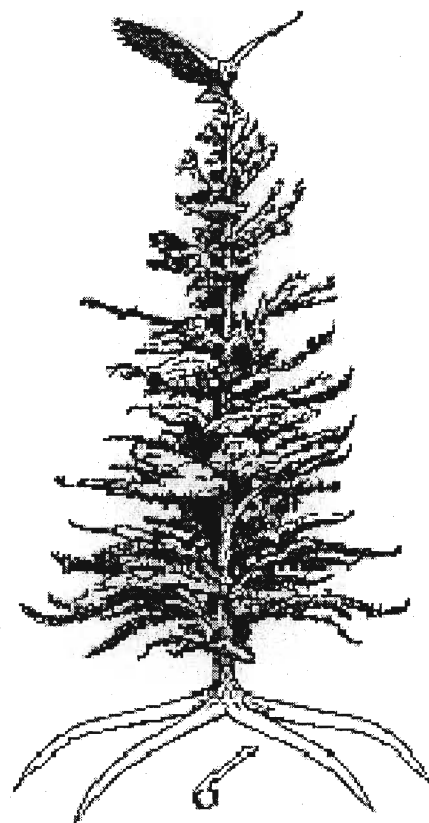


As leaders what must we do?

Be aware of any pitfalls such as misunderstandings, and work toward mutually agreed upon terminology;

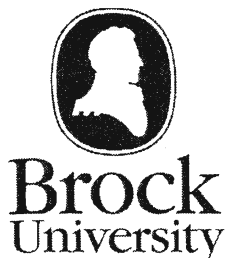
Be aware of and observe protocols that will contribute to the ongoing relationship in a good way;

Come alongside, working and building bridges between the older ones and the current generation, as well as preparing the way for the next generation.



Appendix C

Brock University Ethics Approval

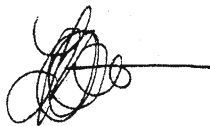


Office of Research Services
Research Ethics Office

St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada L2S 3A1
T: 905-688-5550, Ext. 3035/4876 F: 905-688-0748

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DATE: July 11, 2007

FROM: Linda Rose-Krasnor, Chair
Research Ethics Board (REB) 

TO: Michael Manley-Casimir, Tecumseh Centre for Aboriginal Research and Education
Sandra STYRES

FILE: 06-344 STYRES

TITLE: Let us all raise the song: The Creator this language He has given us when He made the earth - Language Shifting among the Hodenosaunee of Southern Ontario

The Brock University Research Ethics Board has reviewed the above research proposal.

DECISION: Accepted as clarified.

This project has received ethics clearance for the period of July 11, 2007 to April 30, 2008 subject to full REB ratification at the Research Ethics Board's next scheduled meeting. The clearance period may be extended upon request. ***The study may now proceed.***

Please note that the Research Ethics Board (REB) requires that you adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and cleared by the REB. During the course of research no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol, recruitment, or consent form may be initiated without prior written clearance from the REB. The Board must provide clearance for any modifications before they can be implemented. If you wish to modify your research project, please refer to <http://www.brocku.ca/researchservices/forms> to complete the appropriate form **Revision or Modification to an Ongoing Application.**

Adverse or unexpected events must be reported to the REB as soon as possible with an indication of how these events affect, in the view of the Principal Investigator, the safety of the participants and the continuation of the protocol.

If research participants are in the care of a health facility, at a school, or other institution or community organization, it is the responsibility of the Principal Investigator to ensure that the ethical guidelines and clearance of those facilities or institutions are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of any research protocols.

The Tri-Council Policy Statement requires that ongoing research be monitored. A Final Report is required for all projects upon completion of the project. Researchers with projects lasting more than one year are required to submit a Continuing Review Report annually. The Office of Research Services will contact you when this form **Continuing Review/Final Report** is required.

Please quote your REB file number on all future correspondence.

LRK/bb

Appendix D

Six Nations Ethics Approval

Page 1 of 1

Subject: RE: Six Nations Ethics Committee
 Date: Fri, 9 Mar 2007 10:45:41 -0500
 X-MS-Has-Attach:
 X-MS- TN EF -Correlator:
 Thread-Topic: Six Nations Ethics Committee
 Thread-Index: AcdWzjs6fg 1 XsUjvTY6nOLKm8CEmbgLkoApg
 From: "Teresa Longboat" <tlongboat@sixnations.ca>
 To: "Sandra Styres" <sstyres@brocku.ca>
 X-Virus-Scanned-By: mail2.ac.brocku.ca, using CLAMD
 X-Spam-Scanned-By: mail2.ac.brocku.ca, using SpamAssassin 3.0.3 (hard limit 5)
 X-Spam-Info: 0.05; FORGED_RCVD_HELO
 X-Spam-Level: 0.05
 X-Spam-Settings: key=sstyres
 X-Exclamation: Surgite! Push on!
 X-SMTP-From: <tlongboat@sixnations.ca> mail.sixnations.ca [67.71.192.218] (exchange.sixnations.ca) X-Scan ned-By: MIMEDefang 2.51 on 139.57.65.82
 X-Scanned-By: mail2.ac.brocku.ca, using MIMEDefang 2.51 with local filter 3.00
 X-Filter-Time: 9 seconds
 X-MIME-Autoconverted: from quoted-printable to 8bit by spartan.ac.brocku.ca id 129GUT32022222

Sandra

The Six Nations Council Ethics Committee reviewed your clarification of the meaning of "Language Shifting".

This will confirm that full approval is hereby granted by the Six Nations Ethics Committee to conduct the research as requested in your proposal.

The Committee reserves the right to request your attendance at upcoming meetings to provide written and/or verbal progress reports. Should this be a requirement, you will be provided notice in writing. The Committee looks forward to receiving a final report upon completion of your research.

Thank You

Teresa Longboat Council Secretary
 519-445-2205 ext. 231